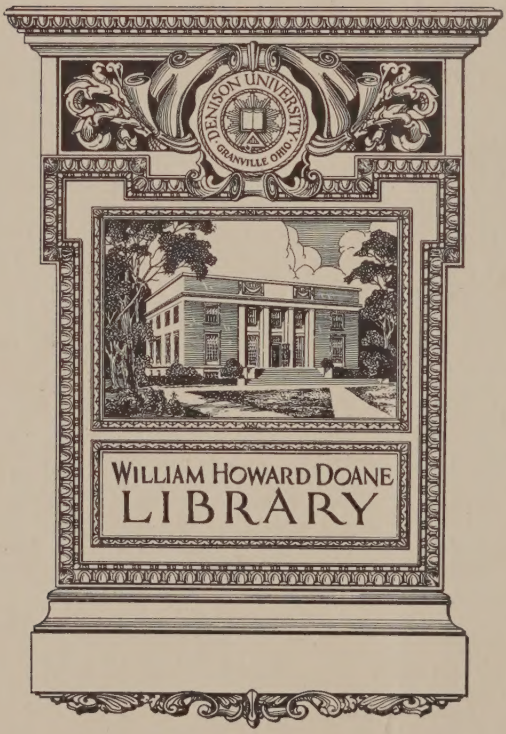

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EVERYBODY'S WORLD

SHERWOOD EDDY

Author of "Suffering and the War"
"The Students of Asia"
"With Our Soldiers in France," etc.

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To My Wife

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FOREWORD

The present volume is the result of a working tour around the world in 1919. I had previously spent fifteen years in India, several years working in other parts of Asia, and had visited Russia. During the closing months of the War I was with the soldiers on the British, French, and American fronts. After returning to America, in fulfilment of engagements in the East, I visited Japan and China, and then spent six months in some fifty of the principal centers of India and Ceylon, during the period of political unrest in connection with the passing of the Rowlatt Sedition Bills and the agitation for Home Rule. On the return journey, I visited Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, and, going down over the Berlin to Bagdad Railway, entered Northern Mesopotamia. After crossing the Taurus Mountains, I passed through Adana, Konia, and the scenes of the Armenian massacres, across Turkey to Constantinople, returning through Italy and France to England and America.

One gains the impression across Asia, Europe, and America of a vast world movement which I have tried to describe in the following pages.

My thanks are due to many friends and nationals of the various countries visited for suggestions and criticisms regarding the manuscript.

The views expressed in this book are purely personal and not official. They have been submitted to no organization for approval. They do not represent the views of the Young Men's Christian Association or of any other official body.

SHERWOOD EDDY.

I

EVERYBODY'S WAR

It has been everybody's war. And, as Lloyd George well says, "In the future it's going to be Everybody's World." To a labor deputation he said: "Don't always be thinking of getting back to where you were before the War. *Get a really new World.*" That is our common task today. Millions have died for this new world. We must live for it. We must make a world worth their having died for. It is for us to see that these honored dead have not died in vain. The black night of war has passed and a new day has dawned—a day of stress and storm, dark with lowering portent, but radiant with the hope of a new world. Much of the old order that has not already been destroyed is doomed. The War has passed sentence upon our modern life. Rotten foundations that were built upon selfishness or injustice must be rebuilt upon the bed rock of eternal righteousness. Out of the ruins of the old world we must build the new.

But it will take new men to build this new and better world. For those who have caught the vision of the new world and who have seen the doom of the old, it is a great day in which to live. We need a creative dynamic, a fearless faith, power that draws upon inexhaustible Omnipotence itself, if we are to

grapple with the titanic tasks that challenge us on every hand. As Mr. Britling well says: "This is the end and the beginning of an age. It is something far greater than the French Revolution . . . and we live in it." We stand at a creative moment in human history. Never before has the whole world had the chance to make all things new. Old customs and contentments, old rules and ruts, old traditions and enslavements have been broken for ever. We are living in the birth pangs of a world struggling to be reborn, and the issues of our time will reach into eternity.

We have been witnessing the greatest human event in history, the greatest in its magnitude and meaning, the most awful in its weight of agony, the most far-reaching in its possible results. Since that one far-off divine Sacrifice, which gives its meaning and promise to the vast outpouring of human life in this War, we have seen and had some part in the greatest thing that has happened in this world.

This War, we must believe, was a means to some great end. The final meaning of such a sacrifice was surely one vast offering of life, for some great end dearer than life, that shall affect all humanity in all the centuries to come. We can parrot off in speech, or tabulate in cold statistics the losses of the War, but none of us is great enough of soul to grasp their full significance. Seven millions killed! One wide sweep of the scythe of death, and 7,000,000 of our

youngest and our best lie beneath those rows of white crosses in the ordered armies of the silent dead, or scattered in nameless graves under the fields of France and Flanders. Seven million homes bereaved! What scales can measure the dead weight of a world's sorrow, what arithmetic can compute it? Nearly 5,000,000 done to death by disease and starvation, and others fallen uncounted in the score of after-wars along the broken fronts, or among the mobs that have raged in the city streets! More than 20,000,000 wounded and 5,000,000 left maimed or partly crippled for life! Six millions shut up in dreary prisons, some emaciated in body and mind, and some never to return! Countless millions who have suffered the privations and sorrows of the War in the trenches at the front and in the lonely homes of the poor! Twenty million women in Europe who can have no home of their own after the War! Fifty billion dollars' worth of materials and property destroyed, $300,000,000,000 expended, or nearly one-third of the wealth of the belligerents, leaving a burden of $10,000,000,000 a year to be provided by the stricken nations to meet the cost of the War and the interest on its crushing debt.[1] Wide areas of destruction are left, with ruined cities and towns, churches and cathedrals, factories and farms, where every home destroyed has meant the tomb of the happiness of some family. All these are but a part

[1]The statistics of the war will be found in Appendix I.

of the great sacrifice and all the world has had some share in it. Belgium and Poland, Serbia and Rumania were almost ruined. France was drained to her last man. Britain poured in the wealth of her whole empire and felt the strain to the limits of her last colony. Russia furnished by far the largest of the allied armies, and lies utterly impoverished by the War and its aftermath. All Europe has been shaken by the conflict.

During the last two years the writer's journeys have taken him through almost every part of France, along the British, French, and American fronts, through Belgium and England, across America, to Japan and China, through some fifty cities and centers in India and Ceylon, to Egypt, Turkey, and the Near East. He found every part of the world deeply affected by the War.

Japan has had to face the great issue raised between autocracy and democracy. It is affecting her whole social fabric and her colonies, especially Korea, which has been convulsed by a passionate uprising of unarmed passive resistance. China sent her labor battalions, which were in evidence everywhere in France from the coast to the front line trenches. India furnished more than a million men. We met them throughout the War in France. There is one section on the British front marked by 20,000 Indian graves. We found Indian soldiers holding Egypt and most of Nearer Asia. It was chiefly the

Indian troops who finished the conquest of Mesopotamia, Palestine, and East Africa. Among the best shock troops of France were the fierce fighting Moroccans. Men of twenty nationalities and countries were found in the French army alone. The greater part of the population of the world was represented in the fighting nations.

As we journeyed across Belgium and France, from Ypres over the Messines and Vimy ridges, through Arras, from Chateau Thierry, Rheims, and the Argonne to Verdun and other parts of the war zone, we passed in turn Americans, Australians, Canadians, South Africans, American Indians, Negroes, Moroccans, Senegalese, Malagasy, Basutos, Chinese, Japanese, Indian Sikhs, Gurkhas, and Mahrattas, Portuguese, Belgians, French, and British. More than twenty African tribes were represented in France and East Africa. More than a score of peoples in the islands of the Pacific were drawn upon and the principal countries of Europe were devastated. There was an almost universal conscription of suffering. It was indeed Everybody's War.

The World War seems to have gathered up in one final climax all the suffering and horror, all the cost and destruction of previous wars; and, on the other hand, all the idealism and heroism of all former wars combined in one. Such a vast sowing demands a commensurate reaping. Such a measureless sacrifice calls for an adequate result. Such a mighty

means demands some mighty end. Unless one were driven to the despairing belief that we live in an irrational world of cruel chance and blind fate that mocks every high human endeavor, one must hold to the firm faith that the results of this War, after all the price that has been paid, will reach into vast opportunities for good far beyond our ken, in the coming centuries of a better world. Those who have vision may discern, even through all the strife and turmoil, the providence of God in our own day. Hegel declares in the closing words of his remarkable "Philosophy of History": "The history of the world is the process of development and the realization of the Spirit. This is the justification of God in history. Only this insight can reconcile Spirit with the history of the world. What has happened and is happening every day is not only not 'without God,' but is essentially His work."

To appreciate the possible meaning of this sacrifice as a means to some great end, we must ask ourselves once more, *What were we fighting for?* What must we win for humanity from this War if it has not been fought in vain? What was its central lesson as we see it now in perspective? We must ask this even at the risk of a brief repetition, for already we are impatient to pass on though we have not yet learned, even superficially, the hard-won lessons of the War.

A pistol shot, the murder of a crown prince of

Austria, and the powder mine of Europe explodes. But behind this occasion lay the proximate cause of two contending forces, expanding Serbia and ambitious Austria. Behind these two colliding nationalities lay the conflict of two greater powers, Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism. What began as a war between two peoples soon became a war between two principles. While we do not claim that all the right was on one side and all the wrong on the other, nevertheless there gradually emerged one supreme and central issue, though it may be viewed from three standpoints, political, moral, and spiritual. Politically, there was the issue between *autocracy and democracy*, between the pretended divine right of kings and privileged classes, and the eternal and inalienable rights of peoples. Morally, the issue lay between *the oppression of militarism and human liberty*. Spiritually, the final issue of the War lay between *the materialism of might and the spiritual power of right*, between a material and a spiritual interpretation of the universe.

This, then, finally emerged as the central issue of the war: autocracy or democracy, militarism or liberty, might or right, the material or the spiritual, selfishness or sacrifice, mammon or God. However confused and hidden, there was an ultimate conflict of eternal principles in the War, which forced us to a choice of destiny. The Kaiser chose. Prussian militarism chose. The German people had to

choose. And just as truly, you and I must choose; the whole American people must choose. We chose the better part for the winning of the War. Shall we choose it now for the winning of the world?

Let us pause at the end of the terrible conflict, and at the beginning of this period of reconstruction, to ask ourselves whether we have yet learned this central lesson of the War for the individual and the nation, that *selfishness is suicidal* and its wages is death; that *sacrifice is divine*, and the life that gives itself in service, even though it die, rises triumphant and eternal. The whole world was not drenched in blood merely to teach Germany or the Kaiser a lesson. If we gloat over their downfall with a cheap, flag-waving patriotism, and apply standards to our enemies which we shirk for ourselves, it is sheer pharisaic hypocrisy. Have *we* learned this central lesson of the War? Are we committed to the sacrificial life of service for human uplift and world brotherhood? If not, so far as we are concerned the War has been fought in vain.

If we choose the life of service, what men are we to serve? What is to be the limit of our sympathy and responsibility? Does it include our family, our neighbor, the man across the street, the poor in the back alley? Does it take in our city, our state, our country, our allies, our world? Selfishness draws exclusive bounds. Love knows but one unbroken brotherhood. A man is as small as his selfishness, and

as big as the world he serves. Selfishness divides humanity into Jew and Gentile, bond and free, privileged and unprivileged, home and "foreign," our own people who count and others who do not. Love reigns in Everybody's World.

If you and I squarely adopt the principle of service, of sacrifice, and the law of love, it means that in our spirit we shall not be narrowly provincial and exclusively national, but our interests will be as wide as humanity. Selfishness will give, if it pays to do so, for its own class or clan, or creed, or people, but will exclude all others as "the masses," the poor, the heathen, as alien, outcast, foreign. Foreign to what, or to whom? Are they foreign to God? Are they foreign to humanity? Or are they foreign to our petty selves? You and I and all men, rich or poor, white or black, near or far, belong to Everybody's World.

Almost every rich and ruling nation in turn has counted itself *the* people, and excluded others as inferior. Assyria and Babylon, Egypt and Persia, Greece and Rome, the Chinese "Middle Kingdom," the Germans as "the salt of the earth" and the center and circumference of *Kultur*, the British, with their Empire on which the sun never sets, and the Americans in their "splendid isolation" and boasting self-confidence, all alike have been beset by the danger of self-centered provincialism. The measure of our strength, our wealth, our privilege is just the

measure of our responsibility. The touchstone of our greatness will be the spirit of our service to the world. We are debtors to all—to all who have helped us and to all whom we can help. Our nation must live in Everybody's World, or turn its back upon humanity and live the pagan life of sordid selfishness—rich, fat, sleek, the national Dives with the beggared world at our gate, left, as Browning says,

> "in God's contempt apart,
> With ghastly smooth life, dead at heart,
> Tame in earth's paddock as her prize."

We emerge from the War as materially the strongest and most privileged nation of the world, with the largest wealth, the largest man power, the largest manufacturing output. We have suffered the least of all the great nations in the War. If we had striven and suffered in proportion to some that first entered the War, we would have had an army of 15,000,000 men, with more than 2,500,000 killed, or more than all the men we had in France. Instead, we stand as the wealthiest nation as we face this crucial period of world reconstruction. Here is our responsibility. Here is a permanent moral equivalent for war, in a task infinitely harder and grander, the winning of a new world. It may be a more difficult thing to win the world than it was to win the War, but the men who fought and died for us did not stop to count the cost, nor nicely to calculate their chances of success or the ease of victory.

What are the conditions of the making of a new world, and what principles are involved in it? Can we agree upon at least five such principles: a new faith in the common man, a new social justice at home and abroad, a new conception of the democracy of nations, a new belief in world brotherhood, and finally, as the foundation of all these, a new conviction that life is realized not in selfishness but in service and sacrifice? Let us pause to note these five principles involved in a new social order, and then apply them to the great territorial divisions of human need as left by the War.

First, *a new faith in man.* If every man, of every race, of every nation, however small or backward, has an inalienable birthright of liberty, if the moral order of the universe is written in his conscience, it means that under the divine Fatherhood, as a member of the human brotherhood, he is of independent and infinite worth. He is not, then, a mere means to an end, a tool for our convenience, a "hand" for our labor and the accumulation of our wealth, but a brother made in the image of God, in the divine right of his manhood. Has not the whole War reinforced this lesson? It has indeed been Everybody's War, a war of the millions of men in the ranks, who were "common soldiers" only, because heroism and bravery were so universal. It was not a war of special heroes, of generals, of Napoleons. Despite the splendid strategy of the unified command, the

War was won in the ranks and in the trenches. It was a war of the common man, and it is the world of the common man. Man as man is so infinitely and absolutely great in himself and his inborn potentialities, that no wealth, title, or privilege can add to his true greatness, and no poverty, oppression, or enslavement can detract from it.

The contending armies in Europe were the world's manhood at war. Contrast with these men the professional armies and paid adventurers of other days. Wellington complained that his army was "the scum of the earth." Our boys were the salt of the earth. They were our own sons and brothers.

The writer recalls a scene on Salisbury Plain during the second year of the War. A great army was passing in review before the King. There were generals, officers of every rank, civilians, statesmen, and notables, but the greatest man on the field that day was "Tommy Atkins." Time and again our eyes were misty as we watched those columns march past, men who, in a few days, were to fight and die in the mud of Flanders or in the shambles of the Somme. They paid the price. They won the War. They are the men who need our consideration as they return to the difficult economic conditions that follow the War. We need the same faith in the toilers of industry as in the men in the trenches, in the man behind the machine as in the man behind the gun. There may be more romance in the

trenches, there is more need in the slums of our great cities.

Second, *a new social justice at home and abroad.* If these men are of infinite value, and of equal worth with ourselves, then unless we are to revert to the sordid level of class selfishness, there must be a new and better social order. The health and happiness of the world must not be for the privileged few but for all men, if this is to be Everybody's World. God must have meant it to be so if He is not a class God of special privilege for the Germans or ourselves. We can see clearly in distant Germany that it is not social justice if crushed masses of men must toil, subject to the "divine right" of a privileged Kaiser, who, while his people fight to keep soul and body together to avoid starvation, can have his own palaces filled with food and luxury. But can we see with equal clearness the social injustice of our own conditions at home? We have lived so long in a land of plenty, with relatively high wages, freedom of competition, and means for the swift amassing of large fortunes, that our national prosperity has obscured the vision of our own social injustice.

We have seen a privileged few in Prussia exploit the power of modern science, harnessed for destruction, for the selfish benefit of their dynastic ambitions. Have we eyes to see a like injustice if the privileged few in our own land hold for themselves the unearned increment of wealth, the enormous

income from the possession of modern machinery, all the means of production, and the bulk of the nation's natural resources? We saw the Kaiser and the Prussian Junkers "stand pat" upon their inherited privileges. Do we also "stand pat" upon ours?

Reader and writer, whether we will or no, we are alike members of the privileged class. This book will probably fall into no other hands. The vast majority of the toiling masses have neither the money, the education, the leisure, nor the opportunity to read our books, to attend our churches, to join our clubs.

We read, some time ago, in our daily papers of a vast fortune left without one penny to charity or human welfare, selfishly held in death as it had been held in life; while in another column of the same paper we read of the Stars and Stripes trampled upon to give place to the red flag of socialism. We read both, but do we see any connection between the two? Are we, any more than Prussian militarists, able to read the signs of the time? In Russia, the swing of the pendulum from the perpendicular of equitable social justice to one extreme of the privileged class of Czarism, causes the reaction of its swing to the opposite extreme of Bolshevism, the selfish control of the unprivileged class. Bolshevism is only Czarism upside down. Both are the class rule of selfishness. Do we condemn the Kaiser and the Czar, while we also cling fast to our own selfish privileges?

Do we realize that a selfish plutocracy may cause a selfish Bolshevism, as well as Czarism, Kaiserism, or militarism? Perhaps we do not realize that we have so many privileges that others lack. Is it social justice if, as Professor W. I. King maintains, two per cent of the people of our country hold sixty per cent of its wealth, while the sixty-five per cent of the people who are poor own only five per cent of the wealth?[2] If not, are we to seek a solution on the

[2]According to Professor W. I. King, in "The Wealth and Income of the People of the United States," the "rich," two per cent of the people, own sixty per cent of the wealth. The "middle-class," thirty-three per cent of the people, own thirty-five per cent of the wealth. The "poor," sixty-five per cent of the people, own only five per cent of the wealth.

That is, 2,000,000 of the rich own twenty per cent more of the nation's wealth than all the other 100,000,000 together. According to the Immigration Commission of Congress in 1909, one-third of the American families were living on less than $500 for a family of five persons. One-fourth of the fathers were not earning enough to support their families.

The babies of the poor die at three times the rate of the well-to-do. One out of every twelve corpses in New York is buried in the "potter's field" at the expense of the city. From twelve to twenty per cent of the children in the large cities are underfed. Only one-third of them complete the grammar school and less than one-tenth the high school. Among the families of the workers thirty-seven per cent of the mothers are at work. Before the War one-fourth of the male workers earned less than $10 a week, over two-thirds of the women workers less than $8, and nearly one-half less than $6 a week. In the great basic industries the workers have been unemployed an average of one-fifth of the year. Approximately 35,000 persons a year are killed in American industry; at least half of these deaths, or 17,500, were preventable.

"Report of Commission on Industrial Relations" to Congress 1916, pp. 23-43.

basis of Christian principles, or leave it to Bolshevism to find a solution?

Is it social justice if, as Mr. Hunter[3] estimated before the War, 4,000,000 persons are dependent upon public relief in the United States, that another 4,000,000 are destitute, and that 10,000,000 have an income insufficient to keep them physically efficient for their work? As Oliver Cromwell wrote, "If there is anything that makes many poor, and makes a few rich, that suits not a commonwealth."

In one of the reconstruction meetings held by the allied soldiers in France, in an open debate, one of the soldiers in a camp where the writer was present voiced the sentiments of a small, unprivileged minority as follows: "What are we going to get after the War? We have learned the use of force and bombs, bayonets and rifles, for some purpose. Our real enemy is not Germany but capitalism. We are not going to fight for a shilling a day, and then go back to be taxed all our lives and toil, without a fair living wage, to support the privileged classes. We are going back to fight for our rights just as we fought against Germany." However ignorant or misguided, however wrong the means he advocated, the above speaker represents a class in every country, not only in Germany, Russia, and Britain, but in America as well. If we realize that we are in truth our brother's

[3]Robert Hunter, "Poverty," quoted by Rauschenbusch in "Christianity and the Social Crisis." pp. 247, 263.

keeper, if we put ourselves in his place, can we honestly say that we would be satisfied if we had to live in his one-room tenement, to look daily in the faces of our own children stunted in their unhealthy surroundings, and to watch them grow up without those privileges in life which others so abundantly enjoy? If not, are we willing to do our part in securing a new social justice that will give every man his rights in Everybody's World?

Third, *a new conception of the democracy of nations.* We must believe not only in the inherent worth and rights of individuals but in those of nations as well. If we believe in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, if we hold that God has made of one blood all nations of men, then it must indeed be Everybody's World. Then there is no such thing as a permanently and essentially inferior race of men. There are backward and undeveloped races. There are immature races not yet come to their majority in self-government. There may be races which have deteriorated through an unfavorable environment. But the raw stuff of humanity is always great.[4] A

[4] Prof. Franz Boas in "The Mind of Primitive Man" says: "We do not need to assume that ancient Europeans were more gifted than other races which have not become exposed to the influence of civilization until recent times . . . The data of anthropology teach a greater tolerance of forms of civilization different from our own, and that we should learn to look upon foreign races with greater sympathy, and with conviction, that, as all races have contributed in the past to the cultural progress in one way or another, so they will be capable of advancing the interests of mankind, if given a fair opportunity." pp. 13, 17, 288.

man or a nation possesses a divine inheritance, an inalienable birthright, a latent though often inarticulate longing for liberty, democracy, and righteousness. Treitschke's idea of nations, despised because they are small or weak, has been forever discredited by the War.

Henceforth the temporary government of one people by another must be regarded as a sacred trust for the welfare of the governed. In past times peoples were regarded as the spoil of war. Individuals and nations alike could be enslaved. The League of Nations proposes to give a mandate to certain powers which must render a strict account of their stewardship. But all other possessions are under a moral mandate from humanity. Colonies or possessions must be no longer fields for selfish exploitation, but for development toward self-determination. The searchlight of full publicity will be turned with all its fierce glare upon America's administration of the Philippines, upon Japan's responsibility in Korea, upon Britain's relation to India, Egypt, and Ireland, upon the colonies of France, the administration of Turkey and the Near East, the welfare and integrity of China. Neither America, Britain, nor Japan should be allowed to plunder or exploit China, because she is for the moment helpless. Fair protestations and platitudes will no longer hoodwink the public. The world is concerned for justice, not only in the former German colonies, but in *all*

colonies. Has the War made us Pharisees and have we believed all our own propaganda? Can any honest man deny that there are other colonies and possessions governed more unjustly and selfishly than German colonies ever were? As Abraham Lincoln said, "You cannot fool all of the people all of the time." All the exploited peoples must henceforth have their place in Everybody's World.

The writer sailed recently past the little harbor in Asia, where Saul of Tarsus, with a message of good news that meant the promise of Christian civilization for barbarous Europe, crossed the strip of water that separates the East from the West, the old world from the new, ancient Asia from modern Europe. Suppose the Apostle Paul had not believed in the latent capacity of all humanity, suppose he had denied the possibility of Everybody's World, or had held that our savage ancestors were not worth saving, where would we and our boasted civilization have been? All the basis of our Christian civilization we owe to others who believed in the worth and innate capacity of all humanity. Now that we have been civilized, educated, enriched, and in a measure Christianized, shall we turn our back upon the less favored nations and races and deny them the same opportunity that was given to us?

Mankind was created for the common birthright of brotherhood. Those dark races, which in the War were good enough to die for the cause, are good

enough now to live for it. Apart from India, all British dominions furnished about 1,000,000 men for the War, but India alone furnished 1,250,000, or more than all the others combined. The writer saw the labor battalions of China throughout France from the coast to the trenches, along the British, French, and American fronts, digging trenches, mending shell-torn roads, and handling munitions. Even in the isolated Fiji Islands there is today a vacant chair in nearly every white home, and many of the natives offered almost their entire income to help win the War. Men of more than fifty nationalities and peoples were fighting in the War. Democracy won the War, and it will inherit the earth. The suffering and backward nations must be given their chance in the new order. Because it was everybody's war, it must be Everybody's World.

Fourth, a new internationalism, founded upon a true nationalism, realizing itself in a new League of Nations, a new world-consciousness, *a new belief in world brotherhood.* We cannot longer be confined in isolated, water-tight compartments of selfish nationalism. Four years of war brought the whole world together in a common cause as previous centuries had failed to do. Forty millions of young men were drawn together from the cities, towns, and villages of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. They traversed new lands and seas, new continents of thought and experience; they exchanged new

ideas. They fought together in France, Italy, Russia, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt, and East Africa. Many entered as boys who returned as men; they left home as provincials, to return with a cosmopolitan consciousness of Everybody's World.

The world not only fought together in a common cause; for the first time it thought together and acted together. The resources of the earth were made common property, the harvests of agriculture, the products of industry, shipping and railways, coal and iron, were all found to belong to Everybody's World. Masses of men learned the value of social control. The individual had to recognize humanity; nationalism had to break its shell and emerge into a world of internationalism.

The whole trend of human advance in civilization is from the struggle of brute force to the ordered rule of law. We have disarmed the individual, and established in turn the rule of law in the community, the state, and the nation. We must now take the next step which is demanded if the world is to be safe for anything. All our advance is to little purpose, if the whole world is to be plunged into war again and again. Is humanity to live for construction or for destruction? The late war only touched the fringe of the possibilities of scientific destruction. The combatants had just begun to drop high explosive bombs, weighing over a ton, and had gained control of poison gas and incendiary missiles

which, if further developed, could blot out whole cities and stifle and slay non-combatant populations. We must choose between war and peace, the rule of law and the reign of terror. As we have taxed the whole machinery of civilization to support standing armies and the organized forces of destruction, let us tax our ingenuity, the brain and the man power of civilization, for an era of construction for human welfare.

No country compared with America has such a position of responsibility or so holds the fate of the world in its hand. Europe stands at a deadlock, where all alike are exposed and involved. No other nation is in such an advantageous position of impartiality and of power. No other nation has claimed higher principles of idealism and of service to humanity. We have proclaimed them from the housetop to the wide world. Now is our testing time to practice or deny them.

It is true that our isolation lends itself to the supremely selfish opportunity of turning our back upon the world and leaving it to its fate. That depends upon whether we as a nation will choose the principle of selfishness or of service. If we try only to save our own life nationally we shall lose it. We shall find, as surely as did Germany, that the wages of selfishness is death. When the world needed us, without counting the cost we cast in all that we had at the very end to help win the War.

The world needs us yet more today, though not so obviously, as it did then. Shall we help now to win the world?

The writer is at the moment on the other side of the planet from America. He is in the midst of these nations of the older and needier half of the world. You of the new world little realize with what longing eyes these peoples turn to us with a great hope for the high idealism which we have proclaimed. Do we mean it and are we going to practice or deny it? These peoples of awakening Asia have been reading the principles proclaimed by Washington, Lincoln, and Wilson. And they have believed them. They know nothing of the strife and vituperation of party politics among us. The world will little note nor long remember what we say now, as between personalities and party politics; but it will never forget what we do now, in our choice between these two eternal principles. Are we to choose nationally our own little world, selfish, sordid, and exclusive, or internationally, God's world, our world, Everybody's World?

Fifth, if it is to be Everybody's World, with a new faith in the common man, a new social justice at home and abroad, a new conception of the democracy of nations, a new internationalism for the realization of world brotherhood, it must all depend upon the foundation principle, which we have already seen to be the central lesson of the War, that

life is realized not in selfishness but in service and sacrifice. This is the central lesson not only of the War, but of the world, of all history, and of all life.

As we returned from France, three colors lingered in our memory. There was the gold of those endless harvests of ripened wheat. There was the red of the poppies, like blood drops, in the golden grain. There was the white of those forests of crosses, millions of them, that marked the graves of the men who had fallen. Fallen for what?

"In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks still bravely singing, fly,
Scarce heard amid the guns below.
We are the dead; short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved; and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe!
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch. Be yours to lift it high!
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies blow
In Flanders fields."

"*Take up our quarrel with the foe!*" We take this challenge from the dead, not as a cry for pagan vengeance—an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth—upon a crushed and conquered enemy, but as a call to fulfill the real objects of the War, the

high aims for which they fought. The whole world today is called to service for worldwide reconstruction. By all the lives laid down, by the strife and travail of nations, by the cry of our brothers' blood from the ground, by all the toil and bloody sweat of our advancing and suffering humanity, by the sacrifice in the very heart of God, by the call of the agony of the whole World War as the Calvary of humanity—if we are men worthy of such sacrifice, let us gird up our loins and rise to build a new world.

Brothers, if you and I return to the life of sordid selfishness, so far as we are concerned the War was fought in vain. The whole world has suffered in vain for us. All has been lost upon us if we live now for mere pleasure-seeking, or money-grubbing, or money-hoarding, for no great human service.

Are we now going to live for our petty world, or for Everybody's World, for ourselves or for the welfare of all men? There lies our choice, and this choice will shape our destiny.

In the light of the principles we have stated let us now review the great sections of the present world's need as revealed by the War. As we face this challenge of human need and immediate opportunity, do we view it with the narrow and exclusive interests of the self-centered life, or, having all the ultimate power of the universe behind us, with sympathy for a whole human brotherhood, as men ready to live and give, to serve and sacrifice for Everybody's World?

II

THE NEW NEAR EAST

In the Near East we are dealing with that portion of the world which has made more history than any other. Here was the cradle of the race, the seat of man's earliest civilization. As the meeting place of Asia, Africa, and Europe, it contained those centers of ancient civilization from which radiated the life of three continents. It was the birthplace of the three great monotheisms of the world, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. It gave the world Abraham, Moses, Isaiah, and the Prophets; Jesus of Nazareth, the Apostle Paul, and that Ishmael and iconoclast of history who makes the problem of the Near East today, Muhammad. Here all the scenes of the Old and New Testaments were laid.

Here were the great battlefields of the world for forty centuries. In our recent journey we passed the Plain of Troy, where Greeks and Trojans fought, and among the scenes of the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey." Here were the ancient empires of Egypt and Babylon, of Assyria and the Hittites, of Persia, Phœnicia, and Greece. From this center Alexander the Great founded his empire and conquered the world. Here in the Near East lay the occasion of the present world catastrophe; and here the most difficult political, racial, and religious problems have been

left in the wake of the War. This is the danger zone of the world.

During the autumn of 1919 the writer made a tour of investigation in this region, overland from Cairo to Constantinople. Our first journey carried us from the Nile to the Euphrates, the two river basins which fed the life of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. Here some six thousand years ago were the two sources of civilization which were to make their contribution to other nations, and flow on in gathering volume through Greece, Judæa, and Rome, giving to the world, art, letters, philosophy, religion, and law.

We stood on the great pyramid of Cheops and recalled the five milleniums of civilization which had flowed at its base. Below us at sunset lay the contrast which marks the whole Near East, the desert and the river valley, the burning sand and the deep green of the widening delta. Here before us, in parable, were the past and the present, the death of the desert and the life of modern irrigation. Wherever the water of the river flowed there was life.

We looked down upon the great Sphinx, silent with its secrets of the past, to the modern tramway lines deserted now because of the strikes of the turbulent nationalist uprising of modern Egypt. We crossed the burning sands of the peninsula, and looked away from the black, frowning summit of Sinai to the new railway line which General Allenby

has pushed across the desert, following the march of modern civilization into Palestine.

We went up from Gaza and Lydda, by "the way of the Philistines," through the hills of Judæa to Jerusalem. We stood on the ancient dome of the rock on the summit of Mount Moriah, where Abraham worshiped, and David offered sacrifice, and Solomon built his temple. We moved through the streets of modern Jerusalem, where amid the clash of forces, Jewish, Muslim, and Christian, modern democracy seeks to heal their ancient strife.

We found Palestine torn with political strife. Three forces are there represented, a minority of Jewish Zionists, a majority of Muslim Arabs, and the representatives of the Christian faith. Unfortunately, the long centuries of dispersion and persecution do not seem to have taught the Jew his political lesson. The Zionists have proved as intolerant of other communities and faiths as they were centuries ago. If their independent rule were set up, there is evidence that there would be an immediate massacre of the Jews in Jerusalem and Palestine by the Muslims. There seems to be no substitute for the continuance of the wise British rule which was instituted when General Allenby made his modest entry into the Sacred City. The Kaiser came with pomp, tore down the city wall, opened a new gate for his triumphal entry, and erected a pretentious palace on the Mount of Olives. General

Allenby entered the city simply, on foot. He immediately gave the largest religious and political liberty to all classes of the community. An abundant water supply has been flowing into Jerusalem for the first time in its history, without money and without price. The British have given to Palestine in the last twelve months more good government and progress than has Turkish misrule in the last twelve centuries.

We stood above Damascus, old when Abraham entered the promised land, where the long caravans from Mecca and Bagdad were still bringing their wares. We looked out over the valley to the road where the Apostle Paul entered the city blinded by his new vision, and to the modern camps and barracks of the soldiers of France and the Arab Hedjas from Mecca, both desiring the control of Syria and of Damascus as its strategic city.

We went down from Aleppo over the Berlin to Bagdad Railway and crossed the Euphrates into Mesopotamia. The Oxford archeologist, Major Wooley, showed us over the excavations of the ancient Hittite civilization, with its temples and palaces, its carvings and inscriptions dating back some 4,000 years, and over the scene of the battle of Carchemish between Pharaoh Necho and Nebuchadnezzar in 604 B. C. (cf. Jeremiah 46). But the Oxford archeologist is now the British political officer representing the force that is pacifying and

reconciling the wild Kurds and Arabs, and opening up ancient Mesopotamia as the modern granary of the East and a future outlet for India's overcrowded population.

We traveled over the new Bagdad Railway line, with its permanent stone stations, its engines and cars bearing the names of the great manufacturing centers of Germany. We passed the wrecks of hundreds of German motor transport and supply trucks. The dream of a route to Bagdad as the monopoly of Prussia is being utilized, by a strange providence, for the opening of the Near East as the highway of modern democracy. We found the Euphrates bridge, as indeed most of Nearer Asia, held by the Sikhs, Pathans, and Gurkhas of India.

From Palestine to Mesopotamia we followed the old caravan route over which Abraham entered the promised land, and where for centuries the traffic of the East has slowly wended its way. Today the railway through the Near East is pushing on to Bagdad. In our own day we probably shall be able to board a train in Paris—or London when the Channel tunnel is complete—and go, via Constantinople and Bagdad, through the Himalayas to Calcutta; or, across three continents through Constantinople and Cairo to the Cape in South Africa; or, across Central Asia through Bokhara to Shanghai and Peking.

On our journey from Aleppo we passed northward over the grand Taurus mountains with their Cilician

gates, across Asia Minor, through Adana and the region of the Armenian massacres. At last we arrived at Constantinople, and found it the crux and center of the problems that baffle and divide the modern, as they did the ancient world.

One afternoon we stood on the old Seraglio Point with its proud palace of the Sultans. Before us lay the great city of Constantinople and about us on three sides the beautiful Bosphorus, the Golden Horn, and the Sea of Marmora. We had sipped Turkish coffee from the set of the Sultans in the Palace, and had looked over their portraits, from Osman the founder, down the long line of conquerors and rulers, ending with that of Abdul Hamid "the assassin." Behind us a mass of cloud hung black over the western sky, like the dark pall which has for centuries overshadowed the Muslim East. There stood the ancient walls and towering battlements of this city that was the bulwark of European civilization for a thousand years, and proudly withstood more than twenty sieges.

Behind us lay the wreck of the dark past. But, on a sudden, the sun broke through the clouds, the black Bosphorus was blue again, and full in the sunlight, across the water, on the Asiatic shore, shone out the Florence Nightingale Hospital, and down the Bosphorus the towers of Robert College and the magnificent buildings of the American College for Girls, the Anglo-Saxon outposts of philanthropy and

education heralding the dawn of a new day for the Near East. There in the contrast between the black cloud bank and the sunlit city, with its golden domes, we saw in parable the contrast between the old autocracy of the Sultans and the new democracy, between the old militarism and the new freedom, the materialism of might and the spiritual power of right.

This last promontory and outpost of Europe was the site of Greek Byzantium for a thousand years, from the seventh century B.C. After 330 A.D., when Constantine made it the capital of the Roman Empire, it became the most significant city on earth. It was long the "queen city" of Europe. For eight centuries it was the center of the civilization of the West and of the world's highest life. Here met the great councils of the Church and near by were formulated the creeds of Christendom. Here the Emperor Justinian erected the matchless cathedral of St. Sophia, probably the greatest edifice for Christian worship in the world. Here Chrysostom preached. Constantinople soon became the center of "Roman" law, art, culture, and wealth.

We stood on the massive walls and ramparts of the city around which have fought the armies of Alexander and Demosthenes, Persians, Greeks, Huns, Tartars, Slavs, Crusaders, and Turks in turn. Even when it fell in 1453, its scholars and the scattered manuscripts of its libraries became the seed of the

Renascence for the awakening of Europe. It is still the great queen city lying partly in Europe, partly in Asia, with its splendid harbor which can float a thousand ships. It is the world's strategic capital, joining two continents, two seas, two civilizations. Rising or falling, Constantinople has often been the world's pivot of destiny, the city of fate. It was the bulwark of Christendom in the Middle Ages. When the Muslims took the throne of the Cæsars it became the center of the Muhammadan world. Its decay made it the crux of the "Eastern question," in the clash of thought and habit between Orient and Occident, the Eastern and Western Church, Christianity and Islam, the medieval and the modern world. It became the goal alike of Pan-Germanism and of Pan-Slavism. It was long the center of trade between the East and the West, but its fall to Islam left it stagnant on the back waters of the world, and drove Columbus and Vasco da Gama to the sea route to India, the discovery of America, and the opening of Africa. Thus the fall of Constantinople led to the strangulation of Nearer Asia, but the new Bagdad railway is opening it up once more as the world's great overland highway of the past and of the future. As Sir William Ramsay well says: "Constantinople is the center about which the world's history revolves. It is the bridge that binds together the East and the West, the old to the new civilization, which must be brought into harmony

before the culmination of all civilization can appear, bringing peace on earth, good will to men."

In the thirteenth century the small and obscure tribe of Ottoman Turks, under their leader Osman, rose up in Asia Minor. From the year 1300, when Osman assumed the title of Sultan, the Turks swept on in their career of conquest until they were finally seated on the Byzantine throne. Their fighting forces were the Janissaries, largely sons of Christians whom they had captured. By intermarriage with these conquered races, their original Asiatic Tartar blood became prevailingly Caucasian and European. Thus the better families of Turks at present are white. The Ottomans today are supposed to number only some ten millions, the majority being found in Anatolia, in ancient Asia Minor. The remarkable influence gained by the Ottoman Turks was largely due to their possession of Constantinople with its great inheritance; but it was at once their glory and their undoing. The Sultan became the "Caliph," or successor of the prophet Muhammad, and the Arab was succeeded by the Turk. The capture of the city marked the beginning of their decadence, but the protection of Britain and the Concert of Europe, in upholding the Turk as a buffer against the menace of Russian autocracy, saved their empire from collapse.

Turkish misrule culminated in the reign of Abdul Hamid, whom Mr. Gladstone called "Abdul the

Damned," the man who was responsible for the death or violation of over a million human beings, and who has a fair claim to be ranked among the greatest destroyers of the human race. In his own person he "embodied all the spiritual despair, all the moral decadence, all the physical degeneracy for which his *régime* stood."

The Turks conquered what had once been the richest empire in the world, but they have made it a waste. Their rule for five centuries has been one of destruction, seldom one of construction. After long trial they have finally proved that they cannot govern other races. They have been weighed in the balances of civilization and found wanting. In the seventeenth century their rule was one of wild disorder, lawlessness, and oppression. In the eighteenth indifference alternated with fanatical massacre. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries their persistent oppression has flamed out in at least six great massacres. We are compelled to recall these in order that we may rightly appraise the Turk's claim to self-determination now.

In 1820-30 occurred the hideous massacres of the Greeks in Chios and Smyrna, and the cruel oppression of Greece itself.

In 1827, the Turks sold 40,000 of their subjects into slavery, and thousands of others were killed. Constantinople became the great slave market of the world.

In 1876 came the Bulgarian massacres, when 12,000 were killed in more than sixty villages.

In 1895-6 nearly 200,000 Armenians were done to death. These atrocities called Gladstone from retirement at the age of eighty-six to protest against them. For the next twenty years massacres never wholly ceased.

In 1909 Abdul Hamid again tried to exterminate the Armenians, his order to kill the Christians being read in the mosques. Some 200 villages were attacked and over 20,000 Christians were killed. We saw the Christian quarter which was destroyed at Adana, where Armenians were shot down as they tried to escape from the burning buildings, and the American missionaries Maurer and Rodgers were deliberately killed, without their government calling any one to account, though the murderers were well known.

In 1915, during the War, the Young Turks deported, murdered, and starved to death some 800,000. They then had a really free hand, and for the first time in two centuries the Christians were completely at their mercy. They boasted that they "had done more in three months than Abdul Hamid in thirty years."

A full account of this effort to exterminate a whole nation will be found in the report of Lord Bryce on "The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire." Conservative and fair as it is, it is one of the

most terrible documents in history. It is confirmed in "Ambassador Morgenthau's Story." If any one is still incredulous he should read the revelations in the German account, "The Armenian Massacres, the Secret Report of Johannes Lepsius."

All agree upon the main facts. The Young Turks had decided upon the murder of a nation. Two million Armenians were to be deported to the Syrian desert to die. The highways of Turkey were crowded, as the long-suffering Armenians were driven from the homes to which they had clung for 2,500 years. At one point 800,000 exiles were registered as having passed. The prisons were opened and criminals were turned upon the helpless throngs. "The Turkish roughs would fall upon the women, leaving them sometimes dead from their experiences or sometimes ravingly insane." Of one convoy of 18,000 from Harpoot only 150 finally reached Aleppo. "What had been a procession of normal human beings, became a stumbling horde of dust-covered skeletons, ravenously looking for scraps of food, eating any offal that came their way, prodded on by the whips and clubs and bayonets of their executioners."

Mr. Morgenthau tells us that the Committee of Union and Progress met each night to find new and more diabolical means of torture for their Armenian subjects. At times even refined women were driven naked in gangs, and any college professor or person of influence was treated with especial cruelty. "They

would pull out his eyebrows and beard, almost hair by hair. They would extract his finger nails; they would apply red hot irons to his breast, tear off his flesh with red hot pincers, and then pour boiled butter into the wounds. While the sufferer writhed in agony they would cry, 'Now let your Christ come and help you.'"[1] Does the whole history of the human race contain another such episode? It is the climax of centuries of Turkish misrule of subject Christian races.

As we crossed Turkey from Aleppo to Adana, Konia, and Constantinople, everywhere we saw signs of the recent massacres. We went through orphanages with their thousands of children whose parents had perished. We can never forget that scene at Aleppo as we picked our way among several thousand refugees sleeping upon the ground in the moonlight. Here were shattered families, returning by ones and twos and threes from the desert to which they had been driven. Five-sixths of the men had been killed. In one family of seventy-one relatives, only three were left alive. Daily as we passed through the cities of Turkey, girls were being rescued from Muslim homes. There was that line of little girls at Adana, diseased, pregnant, and tattooed for life by their Arab captors. We saw girls of eight and nine who had been violated and infected. We saw Christian schools and orphanages where every girl

[1] "Ambassador Morgenthau's Story," p. 306.

had been rescued from the Turk. These girls had been handed over to the brothels and to the rabble by the direct order of the government. This was the last act of the educated Young Turks, who had proclaimed in 1908 their constitution of "liberty, justice, equality, and fraternity." And these are the people who are now clamoring in the press for self-determination, and who want no foreign mandate. Talaat, Enver, and Djemal, the criminals who so successfully sought to exterminate their Christian subjects, are still at large and unpunished, ready to play their part in the new "Democracy."

No other massacres in modern history can compare with those of the Turk. The massacre of the Albigenses only rose to 60,000; that of the Protestant Huguenots in France on St. Bartholomew's Day to 30,000; the Spanish Inquisition under Torquemada to 8,000; the number of Jews deported from Spain to 160,000; the number killed under the Prussian occupation of Belgium, to about 5,000; while here in Turkey some 800,000 have been destroyed.

This is only the consistent climax of centuries of misrule. But it is not the end. All over Anatolia today we found the Turks armed and the Armenians in imminent danger. The question is, shall the world be hoodwinked again? A four-fold cycle has repeated itself for centuries: (1) Bitter dissatisfaction with Turkish misrule among the subject Christian populations, leading to aspiration for political liberty

and justice; (2) Turkish massacres and atrocities; (3) European interference, followed by Turkish promises of reform; (4) temporary cessation of hostilities, while the fires smolder until the next outbreak.

In a word, every case of Turkish rule on three continents has been followed by a decline of prosperity and the crushing of subject races in their power, and every instance of release, by a rise in prosperity and culture. The question now is, Have we learned no lesson from these five centuries, and has the War been fought in vain so far as Turkey is concerned?

If these centuries of misrule are the greatest blot upon the pages of modern history, who must bear the blame? It is idle to make a few individuals, like Abdul Hamid and the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress, wholly responsible. Thousands took part in the atrocities, Young Turks or old Turks; for centuries this story has been repeated, and *at no time have Christian people been in greater danger than at the present moment in Turkey.* Does the cause lie inherent in the Turkish people or in their religion?

It would be a mistake to suppose that the Turks as a race are naturally vicious and depraved. Like all races, they are largely the product of their environment. Their faults are sociological rather than biological, accidental rather than inherent. The bravery of the Turks as fighters has always been

acknowledged, and nowhere more than at Gallipoli. They are, on the whole, good-natured and peaceable. The vast mass of them belong to the sober, hard-working peasantry, wedded to the soil in Asia Minor, where they are by turns active and indolent, merciful and cruel. Where Turkish students meet on a basis of equality in competition with the other students of the Near East, they are not to be despised as regards either bravery, courtesy, cleanliness, skill in athletics, intellectual ability as students, or other qualities. As a people, the Turks are clean, sober, obedient, well disciplined, contented, and reverent. The raw stuff of humanity is always great, and of no race is this more true than of the Turks. Like every other people they have been dominated by their religion, and they have long dwelt under the influence of Islam. What has been its effect upon them? Has it made them truthful? Has it given them moral character and discipline? Has it made them tolerant or capable of ruling others with justice? Has it promoted education and progress? Why is it that wherever the Turk has conquered, oppression begins and civilization degenerates? We believe the answer is to be found in his religion.

In seeking to estimate the influence of Islam, let us gladly admit its good qualities. It has stood for a bold and consistent monotheism in the midst of idolatry. It has lifted to a higher level the divided and degraded polytheists of Arabia and the savage

cannibals of Africa. It has united a wide Muslim fraternity, democratic within its own community. By its stern law and its promise of rewards and punishments it has held men to a certain moral standard. It has called its followers to prayer and worship, without fear or shame, all over the world. It has produced a deep and devout mysticism among an earnest minority. It has taught temperance and inculcated an obedience, an enthusiasm, and a missionary zeal that put many indifferent Christians to shame.

But truth compels us to mention the inherent defects both in its theory and in its practice. God is not a loving Father in Heaven, but a benevolent despot, a "Sultan in the sky."[2] Man is a submissive slave, without the glad sense of sonship. He is under a hard legalism with no good news of redemption. He is in subjection to the absolute despotism of the Caliph, or successor of the Prophet, without the liberty of representative government. If an unbeliever, he may be tolerated in slavery, or treated kindly as one would treat a pet dog, but he has no rights of citizenship or of justice before an equal law. In Turkey, with no separation of the state from religion, he has no liberty of conscience to choose or change his religion.

Islam teaches propaganda by the sword, not by

[2]See "The Riddle of Nearer Asia," pp. 72-79, by Basil Mathews, to whom we are indebted in this chapter.

a cross of sacrifice. It tends to be fixed and immobile and it has petrified progress. It has cast its deepest shadow over womanhood, in its sanction of polygamy, concubinage, and unlimited divorce. It has made many a home a harem. It has made provision for the lust of the flesh and at times has sanctioned immorality. It teaches the *Jihad*, or holy war, for the extermination of the unbeliever who dares resist, and has substituted massacre for mercy.

The one problem of Nearer Asia is Islam. And the fruit of Islam is—Turkey. A deep melancholy falls upon us as we contemplate this blight upon the peoples of the Near East, with all their splendid potentiality. All Nearer Asia bears witness that Islam always finds, or makes, a desert. As the Bulgarian proverb says, "Grass dies under the Turkish hoof."

Under Turkish rule, we saw Palestine, the land of milk and honey, with its once terraced vineyards and olive orchards, now a waste for wandering Bedouins. We saw Mesopotamia, once the garden of Babylon and the granary of the East, now a stretch of fever swamps and a wilderness for jackals, under Turkish neglect. We journeyed over Asia Minor among the scenes of the Apostle Paul, the herald of European civilization. There lay the wastes of Ephesus and Iconium, and the grandeur of the past crumbled in dust amid the filth of modern Turkish cities, where on the fertile and once rich plateau of Anatolia only

one-twentieth of the land is under cultivation. From Cairo to Constantinople one sees the wreck of the Turkish Empire, only redeemed where Britain or some other foreign power has undertaken responsibility. We found need in China, poverty and famine in India, but personally we have seen nowhere on earth such corruption and bad government as in Turkey.

One of two forces must dominate the Near East: the law of Islam, or the principles of Jesus Christ; the sword of force, or the cross of sacrifice. Side by side with the sway of Muhammadanism, a new force has quietly entered Turkey — that of vital Christianity.

Christian philanthropy in the Near East has already established a long and noble record. As early as the thirteenth century, Raymond Lull, persecuted, imprisoned, and banished, was finally stoned to death, in his eightieth year, dying in 1325 as the first martyr of the Muslims. Henry Martyn laid down his life for them at Tokat in Turkey in 1812. In 1819 the American Board sent out two missionaries to the Near East, while Smyrna and Beirut were entered in 1820, and Constantinople in 1821. The American Board has undertaken responsibility for Turkey and Bulgaria; the Presbyterian Board for Syria and Persia, and the Methodists have carried on work in Serbia. A chain of American colleges and high schools has been established

across the Near East, like great lighthouses in the center of darkness.

We visited Robert College in Constantinople, standing above the Bosphorus in full view of the city. It has done a wonderful work of reconstruction in the Turkish Empire, and is sending leaders throughout the entire Near East. The graduates of this college have been prominent in almost every cabinet and progressive enterprise in Bulgaria in the last two decades. Its graduates are leaders among the young Greeks, Armenians, and Turks. We also saw the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut, with nearly 1,000 students, which is exercising such a remarkable influence.

These colleges are on a level with our American universities in efficiency. Their faculties of science and medicine are producing the doctors and sanitary experts so needed in Turkey. Those of engineering, history, law, and theology are sending out railway builders, teachers and professors, professional men, officials, and ministers—men with a new moral character, a spiritual message, and a leadership that is the supreme need in this period of reconstruction.

The American College for Girls in Constantinople is training the teachers, the reformers, the mothers of the new womanhood of Turkey. The colleges in Harpoot, Aintab, Marsovan, Tarsus, Smyrna, and the other strategic centers of the Near East are the hope of its future. Gladstone wrote, "The

American missions in Turkey have done more good to the inhabitants of that country than has all Europe combined." Rear Admiral Chester of the American Navy said: "The eight colleges, the forty-four high schools, and the three hundred common schools of the educational system of the American missions have left the masses with high ideals, the knowledge of true institutions, and longings for better government."

The forces of vital Christianity are being brought to bear upon the Near East along four converging lines. There are these American colleges and schools which, as we have shown, are training the Christian leaders of the new Turkey. There are the hospitals and the work of relief for the starving refugees, as a practical demonstration of Christian philanthropy. There are the churches, which must furnish the radiating centers of the new life and its message of hope. And there is the Young Men's Christian Association, as a rallying center, uniting the graduates of the colleges and the leaders of the divided and unrelated churches, endeavoring to develop a Christian nucleus, through which to reach and help non-Christian young men. It may thus furnish a bridge or connecting link between Christians and non-Christians, and reach, by its many lines of approach and practical helpfulness, prejudiced classes of young men who would not dare to enter any church.

Most of all we were impressed by the heroic work

of the missionaries. Here is a single typical example. At Konia, the turbulent center of modern Turkey, the site of ancient Iconium, where the Apostle Paul escaped with his life, we found a cheerful and indomitable American woman, Miss Cushman. Of powerful frame and Napoleonic character, she is unconsciously, but not unworthily, a successor of the great Apostle who labored here. For many years she has lived out her religion, with an influence that has radiated far and wide through the whole countryside. For two years during the War she stood alone and faced the forces of destruction that raged around her. The Turkish governor had just arrived, fresh from the slaughter of 25,000 victims in Sivas, and still thirsting for blood. Thousands of Armenian exiles were passing through the city as they were driven to the desert. For months, an average of 30,000 at a time were on her hands, often half starving. As she followed the convoys she found the dead left unburied, and vultures following the stragglers. Here were dogs eating little children, and old women, unable to walk, crawling about looking for scraps of food or offal.

As fresh convoys arrived, the Government was unwilling that they should be fed or kept alive by her, and tried to thwart her efforts. At night soldiers and ruffians prowled about the camps of refugees carrying off young girls by hundreds. Most of them never returned. All night the exiles watched in

terror to protect their children. For a year these deportations continued. Five times Miss Cushman's life was threatened, and once she was dragged to the police station at night, but was rescued at the last moment. At the price of one of her buildings she purchased her life from the governor. But she would not escape to safety and leave her Christian girls to the wolves of lust. No girl over eight years of age was safe. At the risk of her own life she protected hundreds in secret.

When all others had fled she remained at her post. She received and cared for the British prisoners from Kut, who had been driven across the desert, robbed, knifed, and done to death. Even when they reached her hospital they died of dysentery by scores. During the latter part of the War she was acting as consul for thirteen nationalities, conducting their correspondence and caring for their prisoners. With one hand she administered a fund of over $1,000,000 for the relief of the prisoners and citizens of these thirteen nations—Britain, France, Russia, Italy, and the rest—while with the other, she distributed with consummate ability nearly an equal amount in relief for starving Armenians, Greeks, and other Christians. We saw the churches, schools, orphanages, hospitals, and relief institutions which she is conducting today. We saw the forces of destruction, rapine, and robbery about her, and then saw her with her assistants marshaling her little army of

orphans from the wreck of slaughtered families, teaching, drilling, instructing them in vocational training, and heroically trying to build up a new and better Turkey out of the havoc of centuries.

Her troubles are not yet over. Even as we write, she is living on the thin crust of a volcano. The Turks of the whole countryside are armed. They have marked down the "ungrateful" Armenians. Murders are occurring quietly all the time. Alone this woman faces a population of some 70,000 and an armed countryside, backed only by seventy-one good stalwart "Tommies" of the British Army. But she and they keep order. Across the length and breadth of Asia and Africa such little handfuls of British and Indian soldiers are keeping the peace of the world today. It is yet to be seen whether America will lift a hand to restore law and order in any part of the world that is not provincially her own, or whether she will decide that "it does not pay."

It is the fashion in some quarters to speak with complacent patronage or contempt of "these missionaries," but, like this brave woman, they are the outposts of spiritual empire, the heralds of law and order and good government, of philanthropy, sanitation, education, civilization. The question is, Shall we back up this modern apostle and the little handful of our representatives who are trying to make the Near East a part of Everybody's World?

On the one hand Mustapha Kemal is already marshaling 30,000 armed Turks for the next massacre. On the other, we see the thousands of orphans all over Turkey being trained by the missionary forces of construction, for a higher civilization. We see the decimated churches of Marsovan, without one pastor or priest left alive after the massacres, trying to reorganize their life; the schools and colleges reassembling, with many of their teachers and professors missing. Which of these forces is to triumph in Turkey? The answer may depend upon whether America will establish a just government and give the forces of construction a chance. Up to the time of the War, although some thousands of Muhammadans in India had become Christians under a free government, no single convert from Islam in Turkey was allowed to live openly as a Christian in his own home.

The people of Turkey today, however, are showing signs of a change of attitude. Before the revolution of 1908 few Muslims dared attend a Christian institution. As we left Turkey, the Muslims were beseeching the missionaries to take their children into their already overcrowded schools. Nine-tenths of the Muslim women on the streets now walk unveiled, and the women are taking things into their own hands and are leading the way in reforms. Given a good government, we shall now witness a decade of advance in the whole life of Turkey.

We traveled in the train with a broad-minded young Muslim who shows the influence upon him of both Christianity and Islam. He was a professor in the Imperial Ottoman University, and was banished by the Committee of Union and Progress.

In answer to our questions, the young man frankly stated his position:

"Turkey is in a sad state today, because she made the fatal blunder of entering the War against the Allies, who were her best friends. Indeed all Muhammadan countries are today backward and unprogressive. The Committee of Union and Progress are real Bolshevists who betrayed Turkey. The only hope for our country is for America or England to take the mandate, for the Turks have shown that they cannot govern themselves, and if the mandate is given to Turkey they will allow no religious liberty, and fresh massacres will at once begin. We should prefer a mandate from America, because she is disinterested and would encourage us in self-government as soon as we were capable of it.

"Turkey greatly needs the moral earnestness of Anglo-Saxon education today; that of the Latin countries is too frivolous and worldly. Religiously I believe both in Muhammad and in Christ as the Sinless Prophet. Spiritually I would place Him above Muhammad who, in fact, confessed his own shortcomings. I am a Muhammadan because of geography. From my father I received my ideas, traditions, and religion."

This young Muslim is exceedingly anxious to study in America. We heard him sing a Christian

hymn, and saw his life unconsciously influenced by Christian principles. He is typical of a growing class in Turkey.

If we may judge from the analogy of India and other countries, three things will result from the contact between Christianity and Islam: (1) There will be a number of individuals who will come out boldly and become Christians. (2) Eclectic systems and halfway houses will be formed, like the Brahmo Samaj in India, or Bahaism in Persia and Syria, where men will try to draw the best from both religions, seeking to repudiate the evils of Islam and to lead in various reform movements. (3) Islam itself will undergo radical changes. There will inevitably take place, spontaneously or forcibly, the much needed separation of church and state. Islam will have to face the disintegrating forces of modernism, of scientific education, of historical criticism of the Quran and of the life and moral standards of Muhammad. It will have to readjust itself to the modern world without the power of the Caliph's sword, or the prestige of political rule over subject races. With new liberty, many will rise to higher standards of life.

It is held by most, Muslims and Christians alike, that Islam will not and cannot be reformed. It is our belief that it can and will. It has already changed in many ways, and is even now rapidly undergoing modification, but the years after the War will bring

the most sweeping changes of all. However unsatisfactory it may be from a Christian standpoint, we see nothing to prevent a reformed Islam from becoming an eclectic unitarianism, receiving most of its higher spiritual ideals from Christianity, but still calling itself Islam. Those Muslims will believe, with a recent writer, in "a living and a loving God." They may even claim, with modern Hindus, that the essence of their religion is "the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man," although the idea of divine fatherhood and sonship is now so repugnant to them, because carnally conceived of. They will deal leniently with the practices of Muhammad, as we do with those of David. They may outgrow polygamy, as in Old Testament times. They will repudiate slavery, and the slaughter of unbelievers, as we do the Spanish inquisition and the burning of witches. They may take the character and teaching of Jesus as the higher spiritual source of their religion. They will undoubtedly institute reforms for the emancipation of women and for the purification of home life and the social order. The result would be a unitarian combination of Christian principles and of reformed Islam. This we have already seen taking place in the lives of Muhammadan inquirers both in India and in Turkey. One thing is certain, Islam must change or die.

Before considering the question of the mandate for Turkey, let us note the condition of the country.

Ancient Asia Minor, or modern Anatolia and Armenia, consists for the most part of a high plateau with great agricultural and mineral wealth, and a good climate. It has an area of about 200,000 square miles, equal to Wyoming and Colorado, with a population of about 11,000,000, although it could sustain many times that number. We were surprised to find that it resembled our best western states in America, with wide, fertile, unfenced fields, lying level to the foot of the blue mountains. It was dotted with a few villages surrounded by abundant harvests, the oxen treading out the corn on the primitive threshing floors. We saw harvests of corn, wheat, and tobacco, and orchards of delicious fruit, on the small portion of land that is at present utilized after centuries of neglect and bad government.

The peasants follow the same primitive methods of agriculture as those described here by Xenophon in the "Anabasis." But the land is admirably adapted to modern machinery, and we saw the first great tractor ploughs in use. In minerals, the country is rich in copper and iron, and especially in coal. Turkey has abundant undeveloped resources. Her debt is not great, and if it were fairly divided between all parts of her empire, she would emerge from the War financially almost next to the United States in the proportion of her resources to her liabilities. The country will pay for itself if any honest nation unselfishly takes the mandate. It would rise with a

bound under good government, as did Egypt under Lord Cromer's *régime*. Although loans would have to be advanced, it would pay all costs, and after a generation it would be able to stand on its own feet, a resource and not a liability to the world, a credit instead of the world's disgrace.

Two parties are crystallizing in Turkey, the Nationalists and the Conservatives. The Nationalists contain many of the old progressive party, who repudiate the crimes of the Committee of Union and Progress, although it is to be feared that dangerous Young Turks are altogether too powerful an element. They have recently held three conferences in different parts of Turkey and are asking that America should take the mandate for the country. One section of this party has sent a strong request for an American mandate.

The Conservative Party is that of the Sultan and the Sheik ul Islam, the religious leaders and reactionaries. They want to strengthen Islam and dominate it from Constantinople. They desire Turkey for the Turks, and hope to pass the present crisis, as they have so many others, by repeating the old empty promises of reform. They are also backed by certain foreign influences.

The one supreme question of the day is, What is to be done with Turkey? The welfare of the Near East and the peace of the world are concerned in the answer. Four plans are proposed, an American man-

date, a British mandate, a Turkish mandate, or Turkey divided among the powers. Of the four proposals, we believe that the first—that of an American mandate—would be best for Turkey, for America herself, and for the welfare of the world, which must suffer if Turkey is misgoverned.

In the opinion of representative Englishmen, there are strong reasons against a British mandate. Great Britain has already undertaken all that she can do. While India is surging with a new nationalism, England has established a protectorate over turbulent Egypt, and incorporated it in the Empire. She proposes to undertake the costly responsibility for the whole of Mesopotamia, for Persia — although guaranteeing her independence—for Afghanistan, and the lands contiguous to India. She is already involved in Arabia. It would be folly for her in addition to undertake the whole of Turkey, and to face the possibility at some future time of the opposition of the entire Muhammadan world within her Empire. Moreover, she has emerged from the War with a heavy debt and her resources will be strained to the utmost to develop what she has already undertaken.

There are the strongest reasons against leaving the Turks in full possession. They have proved as incapable of governing other races as they have of honest, efficient, and progressive self-government. Throughout Turkey Armenians are already marked

down for slaughter. At the last audience given by the Sultan, the Jews were present and protested their loyalty; the Armenians and Greeks were noticeably absent. The Turks will take their revenge as soon as they can.

The little Armenian Republic in the Russian Trans-Caucasus is now hemmed in on three sides. On the north are the Georgians, on the southeast the Tartars, while a Turkish army of some 30,000 under Mustapha Kemal, formerly the Inspector General of the Ottoman army, is waiting on the southwest, and the 1,000,000 Armenians in the Republic have but 8,000 armed men. There are also 350,000 Armenians who had been driven in from Turkey as refugees, but they are not a fighting force. A French officer who had just returned informed us that 15,000 Armenians were killed in the month of August alone. If Asia Minor is handed back to the Turks, the civilized world should demand not only the trial of the murderers of the 800,000 Armenians already killed, but also that of the men at the Peace Conference who turn this people over to slaughter and extinction.

The fourth possibility, that of the partition of Turkey, would be almost as disastrous as a mandate to the Turks themselves. It would be impossible to have a unified policy and to do justice to the score of peoples amid the "restless tossing of long enthralled nationalities." The reforms of one power

would be defeated by the next. It would lead to friction, international jealousy, and dissension. It would be costly and would bleed Turkey to death. It would almost certainly end in war.

The first possibility is then left for consideration. It is our belief that America should not accept a mandate for Armenia alone. It would be impossible thus to protect the Armenian people, to uplift the Turk, or to unify Turkey. It would leave America to do all the "dirty work" without the resources at hand to make it a success. We believe that she should take three mandates for Constantinople, Anatolia, and Armenia, or one mandate for Turkey, with a free hand to subdivide it into three or more provinces. And she should take all three or none.

Why should America accept a mandate for Turkey? We believe that there are strong reasons for our doing so.

1. To fulfil the aims for which we entered the War, that its great sacrifice may not have been in vain, but that liberty and justice and righteousness may be established in the world.

2. Because it is our duty to take some adequate share in world reconstruction. Before the War Great Britain, with a population of only 45,000,000, had undertaken responsibility for some 323,000,000 in Asia, and 50,000,000 in Africa. She is now adding Mesopotamia, Persia, and other sections of Asia and Africa. With a population of 100,000,000, and vast

resources, why could not the United States undertake the 11,000,000 of Turkey in Asia?

3. Because America is trusted as is no other nation in the Near East. The people desire our help and are ready to receive it. Our treatment of Cuba and the Philippines is often quoted in the East. As we traveled from Cairo to Constantinople we found nearly all the peoples of Nearer Asia asking for an American mandate as their first choice.

4. Because America, from the very nature of her principles and institutions, and from her neutral and safe geographical location which makes the acquisition of further territory unnecessary, stands in a position to render a larger unselfish service for Turkey's own good than any other power.

5. Because of our stake and investment already in Turkey. America alone has been conducting missions here on a large scale for a century. America has invested in men and buildings, in colleges, hospitals, and relief institutions. We either have to back up this investment or lose it. We have to finish our task or run the risk of seeing the work of a century ruined, and our missionaries driven out.

6. Because of our responsibility to the Armenians. The Armenian people seem to be, in a special sense, the wards of the United States. Their record is their appeal. Let us consider it thoughtfully.

Centering in Mount Ararat, the territory of Armenia is about 80,000 square miles, or about the

size of Kansas, divided between the Turkish, Russian, and Persian districts. There are about 1,000,000 Armenians in Turkey, 1,200,000 in the Russian Caucasus, 50,000 in Persia, and 100,000 in the United States.

As early as 700 B.C. the Armenians were a strong and sturdy race. The people were marked by their knowledge, enterprise, intelligence, business capacity, and strength of character. Like ourselves they are of the Indo-European race, and like the Jews they have been persecuted and scattered throughout the world, and have been subjected to a long series of massacres. At times they were forbidden to speak the Armenian language, the penalty being to have their tongues torn out. Capable, educated, and thrifty, they excited the jealousy of their Turkish rulers because of their superior intelligence and prosperity, and were subjected to every injustice and indignity. Their schools were closed, their homes burnt, their property seized, their women violated.

For a thousand years Armenians have been the most persecuted people in the world. In the seventh century, they were conquered and ruled by the Arabs, and later by the Kurds. For three centuries following, they were swept by the invasions of a long succession of nomadic tribes. Still they maintained their existence as a Christian kingdom in the midst of the Muslims. After the fall of Constantinople in

1453, they were subjected for five centuries to the Turkish yoke, with frequent outbreaks of persecution. Europe demanded reforms, but massacre followed massacre in succession.

Although they were the first to receive Christianity as a united nation, the Christian nations have looked on, as at a Roman spectacle, and have seen these persecuted people butchered decade after decade. Surely the time has come, if we are to maintain our self-respect as members of a Christian civilization, when we must see that justice is done to long-suffering Armenia. An era of reconstruction must follow the massacres of the past. To these people with their sense of nationality, their patriotism, and their Christianity, never crushed through centuries of persecution, we must come with relief.

The Armenians are enterprising and tenacious. Before the War they conducted the bulk of the trade of inland Anatolia. But we should help these people with our eyes open. They have the inevitable faults of a subject and persecuted race, like the Jews of Russia. What they most need is not charity but good government and a chance to live. Wealthy Armenians possess enough to care for their own people if some one will keep the Turks from their throats.

The task is not impossible nor impracticable. A relatively small force of either American or British troops could quickly restore order. The whole

government of Turkey could be made self-supporting. Even on the lowest grounds it would pay materially. But on higher grounds it is right. The most persecuted people on earth look to America as the nation best able to help them. Is her answer to be one of provincial selfishness or sacrificial service? Shall Armenia and Turkey both have their part in Everybody's World?

We recently passed the spot where the Asiatic, Paul, crossed from Asia into Europe with the germinal message and dynamic power that were to produce, in spite of all persecution or barbarous opposition, a Christian civilization. The hour has now come when those Christian forces must be carried from the West back to the East. The Macedonian cry of human need, "Come over and help us," which brought the Apostle Paul from Asia Minor to Europe, now calls us back to the very province which gave us the moral, spiritual, and social forces of our civilization.

As we go to press we receive the Appeal sent by the Parliament of the Armenian Republic to America, Great Britain, France, and the powers represented at the Peace Conference.

"Encouraged by the inaction and silence of the Great Powers, hordes of Turks, Kurds, and Tartars, led by officers of the Regular Turkish Army, have begun another invasion of the Republic. Once more . . . the implacable enemy is massacring the villagers

and laying waste the land. Armenia today is left to face alone her secular persecutors with an utterly inadequate supply of arms and munitions. And it is thus, after the triumph of the Allies, the Armenian people, in order to defend its very existence, has to wage an unequal fight in the worst possible conditions. We make this final appeal to the conscience of the civilized world, warning it of the danger of our definitive annihilation."

What shall the answer be?

III

THE APPEAL OF RUSSIA

Russia has long been a land of mystery and of paradox. Here is a great nation that seems to have been marked for suffering, through long centuries of chastening discipline. Here is a people who grip the heart and appeal to the imagination. As you live among them, sympathize and suffer with them, their need is branded upon your very soul. As the writer visited Russia, he found that the appeal which it made was utterly unique.

Russia impresses us first by its sheer mass and magnitude. It is colossal and continental. Whatever may be its fate in the future, as it entered the War it was one of the four giant countries of the world. These four nations taken together, the British Empire, Russia, China, and the United States, hold approximately three-fifths of the land area of the globe, and embrace two-thirds of its population. The remaining more than sixty independent governments all together have but two-fifths of the land and one-third of the earth's population. The Russian Empire at the opening of the War contained nearly one-sixth of the land area of the globe, and one-ninth of its population. Stated in tabular form

in round numbers, the relative position of the four great nations is as follows:

Country	Population in Millions	Per Cent of World Pop.	Approx. Area Millions of Sq. Miles	Per Cent of World Surface	Wealth in Billions of Dlrs.
Russia	182	11.1	8¾	16.6	40
United States	120	7.1	3¾	5.	230
British Empire	438	25.	13⅛	25.	130
China	400	25.	4¼	7.1	40
The World	1700	100.	57	100.	720

Russia when united is the largest homogeneous state in the world, as well as the most inaccessible and isolated of the large nations. We do not realize that the area of the Russian Empire is twice that of all the rest of Europe, more than twice that of the United States, larger than the two continents of North and South America. To compare it with the other nations at the beginning of the War, it contains approximately forty times the area of France, or Germany, or Japan; and 800 times that of Belgium. This vast section of the globe must be reckoned with. The land consists of one mighty, scarcely broken plain stretching from the shores of the Baltic across the broad plateau of Russia and Siberia for over 6,000 miles to the Pacific. Although it belongs to the temperate zone, it is a land of fierce extremes both in climate and in the character of its people. Untempered by the sea, it is covered with one vast sheet of snow in the cold, clear, dry winter, and is a land of high temperatures in the summer.

In 1914, weakened by internal dissension, the masses of Russia, ignorant of the secret negotiations between the Hohenzollerns, Hapsburgs, and Romanoffs, entered the War, and toiled, fought, and died to satisfy the dynastic ambitions of those for whom so many generations had suffered. The Russians were unprepared for war, often betrayed by their pro-German bureaucratic leaders who deliberately withheld munitions, while the Germans, well knowing their condition, mowed them down in front, often at point blank range, or shot them down in the long retreats through the marshes.

During the recent War, Russia suffered more than any other great nation. She had called to the colors more than 13,000,000 men, the largest army ever assembled by any one nation in history. Some 3,000,000 soldiers died of wounds, disease, neglect, or starvation. Some 2,000,000 more were confined in the prisons of Germany and Austria, returning, if at all, often as mere skeletons to die upon the road, or to fall an easy prey to disease. Multitudes throughout the land perished from poverty and disease, famine and revolution. Attacked from without, betrayed from within, famished, starving, Russia still suffered on. Owing to the shortage of shells and munitions many of the troops were left unarmed, betrayed by Stürmer and their pro-German leaders. Some had to fight with sticks and stones. At last, worn out by suffering and privation

and with no faith left in their Government, the cry of starving Russia went up for "peace, land, bread."

Until March, 1917, Russia was still an Empire. On March 11th, despite the overwhelming demand for freedom made to the Czar, he issued a ukase suspending the sitting of the Duma. The Duma, however, unanimously refused to dissolve. The Czar, who was at the front, started for the capital and while on the way was compelled to sign his abdication.

The three chief elements that brought about the Revolution of 1917 were found in the first Lvoff ministry: Prince Lvoff, representing the group of big business men and large land owners; Professor Milyukof, the leader of the Constitutional Democrats, representing the liberal middle class, or moderate reformers; and M. Kerensky, Minister of Justice, a revolutionary Socialist, representing the third and more powerful group of peasants, workingmen, and soldiers. When this ministry failed to satisfy the radical demands of the people, Lvoff was forced to resign and Kerensky came for a short time into power. By November, 1917, the more radical leaders of the workingmen and soldiers began to rebel against Kerensky, as he had failed to procure a joint declaration of the allied powers renouncing all imperialistic aims, in harmony with the principles of the Russian Revolution, and had also failed to obtain an early peace.

Social revolution in Russia has been due to the development of primitive communism, and to a synthesis of the philosophy of the social revolutionists with the German Socialism of Karl Marx, centralized, organized, materialistic, and irreligious. The Bolsheviki soon secured control of the Soviets, or workingmen's councils, tending to exclude all others. They promised the people what they most wanted, land and peace. They organized the Red Guard by arming workmen in the factories, and outbid Kerensky for the support of the Army by their program of immediate peace, the distribution of land, the turning over of industries to the workers, and giving all power to the Soviets.

The Bolsheviki were under the leadership of Nikolai Lenin, who had returned to Russia from Switzerland via Germany to carry on his agitation to end the War. He stood for the doctrine of the materialistic German Socialism of Karl Marx, to sweep away all social classes and national political states, and substitute the international socialistic rule of the proletariat or working classes for the system of capitalism and imperialism. On November 7th the Bolshevik leaders seized Petrograd and declared themselves to be the Government. A new cabinet was formed with Lenin as Prime Minister, and Trotzky Secretary of Foreign Affairs. By a series of decrees property was seized and given to citizens who had no dwelling. Factories were

handed over to the possession of the workingmen. Private ownership of land was declared null and void. All land was nationalized and turned over to the people. The collapse of Russia began with the demoralization of the army in the appointment of committees of soldiers. Authority was transferred from the officers to the soldiers, discipline broke down, and the retreat in Galicia began. Soldiers poured back into the cities in hungry mobs, calling for bread. The Bolsheviki finally signed the humiliating treaty with Germany at Brest-Litovsk, which passed into effect December 7, 1917.

By the end of the year Russia was drifting toward a state of chaos. Finland declared her independence. The Ukraine, Siberia, the Caucasus, Turkestan, the Poles, Cossacks, Muhammadans and Tartars set up their own governments, largely isolating Russia. The phrase, "Now we are free," swept away all control and restraint. Soldiers needed no longer to obey or to fight. Laborers did not need to work. Corruption became more rampant. Private property almost disappeared. Capital largely ceased to be productive. The national revenue became almost *nil.* Russia was relapsing into the primitive condition of humanity, which had prevailed over much of early history. Property was confiscated, some banks were closed, others were nationalized, business was paralyzed, discipline was undermined, trade gave place to barter, paper money be-

came almost valueless, famine stared the people in the face. According to the Petrograd dailies, men and women frequently dropped in the streets overcome by sheer hunger. Recent months have seen great efforts along constructive lines, but there was no indication of any such in those dark days.

We must now face the aftermath of the war in Bolshevism. It is a menace not only in Russia, but throughout the world, and we should do well to try to understand it.

This is no easy task, for we have been victimized by our own propaganda. The Germans taught us the power of such propaganda, then in self-defense the Allies launched their own. Now every one is flooding us with special pleading for or against each cause. Before us, as we write, are two piles of printed matter, the one for and the other against Bolshevism. Many of the documents on both sides are filled with exaggerations and statements contrary to fact. Whether reactionaries or Bolsheviki, each extreme party seems to "see red." Our one aim is to find the truth, to see things as they are.

At the outset we wish to state frankly that we are not able to speak with authority upon the present conditions in Russia and must suspend final judgment until we can see and interpret the situation for ourselves. We wish to keep an open mind free from prejudice for or against a cause which is still on trial. We may take warning from the reversal

of our attitude to the French Revolution. After centuries of misrule the pent-up fury of a vast population does not conform to rules of etiquette or order. Both the French and Bolshevist revolutions were at first followed by violence and bloodshed. Both were condemned by the Anglo-Saxon democracies and the monarchies of Europe. But as the smoke of battle cleared and law and order were restored, we could separate the temporary method of the red terror of the French Revolution from the permanent and ideal aims of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Today we can estimate the permanent gains to democratic France and the liberties of Europe, despite the lawless cruelty of Robespierre. Behind the smoke of conflict in Russia, amid the discordant and conflicting reports of witnesses partisan or prejudiced on both sides, we shall yet have to form an honest estimate of this vast economic movement which is taking place in Russia.

To understand the Russian Revolution, we must realize what lay behind it. It was the spontaneous uprising of a people long oppressed. A thousand years of suffering, such as no other great nation had endured, and five centuries of Czarism, had driven almost all the opponents of the bureaucracy into the various camps of Socialism, which seemed to offer a gospel of hope to the oppressed masses. Sixty per cent of the Russian people were chronically underfed, miserably clad, and living in hovels

scarcely fit for beasts. The majority belonged to the landless peasants and the almost penniless proletariat. Over seventy-five per cent had been left in illiteracy. The Czarist Minister de Shelking attributes the Revolution to "an unpopular Emperor, a detested Empress, a deceived army and navy without faith in its officers, venal and incapable ministers, justice reduced to a farce, society corrupt and rotten to the core, the Duma lacking in courage and initiative." Mr. Brailsford says: "Russia hanged its Socialists, dissolved its Dumas, imprisoned its deputies, oppressed its Jews, defiled the free soil of Finland, and erected its gallows in the cities of Persia."

The Revolution was thus a sudden release of vast elemental forces from age-long repression; it was the long suppressed outcry of land hunger and life hunger. It was at once the overthrow of political tyranny and social injustice, but what began primarily as a political revolution developed rapidly into a social revolution. It was not merely a change of persons or parties, it was a change of principles, of classes, of the very order of society.

In such a chaotic time of transition, the extreme forces naturally gained control. Of all the parties in Russia, only one seemed to know just what it wanted. In the split of the Russian Social Democratic Party in 1903, the Bolsheviki, or "maximalist party," took the extremist position, demanding the immediate revolutionary rule of the proletariat, or

working class. The Mensheviki, or "minimalist party," stood for a more sane, gradual, evolutionary control, uniting the bourgeoisie, or commercial class, with the peasants and working men.

To understand Russia and Bolshevism, it is all-important at the outset to distinguish clearly between two elements: on the one hand, the people with their spontaneous, democratic organization of the Soviets; and on the other, the Bolsheviki, or extreme Communists, who have gained temporary control of the Soviets, utilized them, and made them a power. It is our belief that the soviet or committee organization, as a natural expression of democratic Russia, under whatever name it may continue, is built upon Russian character, and will be permanent. There are Soviets of peasants, soldiers, teachers, professional men, and industrial workers. The present Soviet Republic must be regarded as a communistic experiment, an episode in the social reconstruction of Eastern Europe. No such revolution as this vast elemental upheaval has ever taken place.

Here were vast, undisciplined, armed masses pouring back from the trenches, millions of men diverted from the War to a social revolution, turning hopelessly from the German Front, where they had been betrayed, to face what they considered their real enemy at home. It was this armed mass that represented the driving force of the Revolution. It

must be remembered, also, that all else had failed them. They felt they had been betrayed by an autocratic Czar, a corrupt bureaucracy, an agrarian feudalism, and a weak middle class. Three classes of the community were on trial. They felt the Czar and the bureaucracy had failed; the bourgeois and intellectuals had failed them in the Revolution of 1905; it was now the turn of the proletariat and peasants. They saw but two alternatives, the continuance of the old oppressive system of the privileged class, or the beginning of the rule of the unprivileged eighty per cent of the population. If for a moment we try to put ourselves in their place, we cannot but feel sympathetic with the underlying aim of this long-suffering mass of the population, however wrong they were in its execution. They felt the vast elemental urge of social justice, the hunger for life, the desire for some share and some control in the wealth which they had created. They desired an equality of democratic opportunity. They aimed at the socialization of the land, of the means of production, of wealth, and of all life. It was a daring and colossal experiment. They represented 135,000,000 peasants and millions of the industrial proletariat, prepared by years of revolutionary agitation, against the misrule and exploitation of the privileged class.

Inevitably they made mistakes. It was plainly the attempt of the untutored child mind in the

political and social world. It would sweep away, as a house of blocks in the nursery, all the slowly reared existing systems of the centuries, and build again a palace of fancy and a house of dreams. Thus the masses were finally induced and compelled by the Marxian Socialists and the Left social revolutionists to try the Bolshevik experiment, which is a synthesis of the two revolutionary programs, that of Marx and that of Bakunin, and which offered them at once the socialization of land and industry. We can best understand their purposes if we turn to the actual constitution of the Soviet Republic, and try to realize the ideal aims of their social dream. Briefly these may be summarized as follows:

1. "Russia is declared 'A Republic of Soviets of Workers,' Soldiers', and Peasants' Delegates.'

2. "The Soviet Republic of Russia is established on the basis of a free union of free nations and forms a Federation of National Soviet Republics.

3. "Suppressing all exploitation of man by man and abolishing forever the division of society into classes.

4. "The socialization of the land. Private ownership of the land is abolished. All land is declared national property.

5. "Forest, underground mineral wealth and waters, having value of national importance . . . are declared public property.

6. "The complete transfer of all factories, railways, and all means of production and transport, to establish the workers' control of industry.

7. "The transfer of all banks to the State as a step in the emancipation of the toiling masses from the yoke of capitalism.

8. "To abolish all parasitic elements in society, work useful to the community is obligatory to all.

9. "The repudiation of all secret treaties, and a democratic peace without annexation or indemnities.

10. "To free from enslavement millions of laborers in Asia, the colonies and smaller nations; to secure the independence of Finland, and full self-determination for Armenia.

11. "Genuine liberty of conscience, the Church separate from the State, the School from the Church.

12. "Complete freedom of meetings, and full liberty of association.

13. "A complete education, which shall be free for all.

14. "The equality of all citizens, regardless of race and nationality, before the law, and the protection of national minorities."

We shall see how far they have fallen below this constitution in actual practice, but such are the aims of this elemental movement in Russia, with the boldest social program in history.[1]

[1] The organ for the execution of this plan was to be the Soviets. They are supposed to organize all classes in the country and the city. In the country they begin with the *Mir* or village meeting of all the workers. These elect a Soviet to represent the village. The villages send their representatives to the townships; these in turn send representatives to the Provincial Soviets, and these to the All-Russian Congress. In the city, each group, whether industrial or brain workers, is supposed to have its Soviet. These send representatives to the City Soviet,

Truth compels us to give the Soviet Republic its due. The social theory of its leaders has been tried under most unfavorable, if not impossible, conditions. They inherited a country impoverished by war and on the verge of starvation. They had to face an army disbanded and crying for bread. They inherited five centuries of the Czarist *régime*, and four years of war which had loosed all the passions of the Tartar blood. They were faced by the invasion of the German army, the penetration of the German commercial agents, the highway robbery of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, the allied invasion on the north, a battle front on the south, and another on the east. They were isolated by the world's blockade, cut off from their principal outlets to the sea and from the granary of Siberia. They inherited a means of transportation which had almost broken down, and a system of "graft" and corruption unparalleled in any civilized nation. In spite of all these adverse circumstances, they have maintained themselves in power for more than two years. The fallacies of the system have, however, been revealed and must be eradicated if there is not to be a complete collapse.

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and the cities with the villages send up their representatives to the All-Russian Congress. This appoints an interim Central Executive Committee of some two hundred members, which elects the final body, consisting of eighteen People's Commissaries who form the Government. If these Soviets were truly democratic and universal, and if they were completed by a representative National Constituent Assembly, they might form the organization of the permanent Russian State.

We must now turn from this natural organization of Russian democracy to the Bolsheviki, or small extremist party, which temporarily controls it. We must first of all ask, What is Bolshevism? Perhaps we can best express it in certain characteristic phrases of Lenin, the brain of Bolshevism, in his "Soviets at Work," without a continuous quotation:

"We have won Russia from the rich for the poor, from the exploiters for the toilers. . . . Now the main difficulty is in the economic domain: to raise the productivity of labor, to establish strict and universal accounting, to control production and distribution, and actually to socialize production. Socialism, to succeed, must prove more efficient than capitalism in producing wealth. We now need economy, discipline, accuracy. There will be a period of false steps, experiments, wavering, and hesitation. The transition from capitalism to socialism is impossible without compulsion and dictatorship. Our soviet rule is the dictatorship of the proletariat . . swift and merciless in the suppression of exploiters." "There must be absolute submission to one person, the soviet dictator, during work. . . . Our aim is to attract every member of the poor classes. The bourgeoisie is excluded."

Lenin's keynote is "*the dictatorship of the proletariat*" by the unlimited use of power. The aim of Bolshevism is the immediate introduction of state communism, of a social republic of labor. It repre-

sents the vested interests of the unprivileged classes. It is immediate, chaotic, universal Socialism. It seeks to invert the social pyramid which tapered down from the Czar, the bureaucracy, the bourgeois, to the broad base of the toiling masses; placing the masses on top and crushing the once-privileged classes. Bolshevism seeks proletarianism before democracy; revolution before evolution; internationalism before nationalism; destruction before construction.

Russia, rent, distracted, and torn by revolution as she was, fell an easy prey to the little group of extremists who appealed to the instincts of the mob. Lenin frankly stated that "just as 150,000 lordly landowners under Czarism dominated the 130,000,000 of Russian peasants, so 200,000 members of the Bolshevik party are imposing their proletarian will on the mass, but this time in the interest of the latter." He proposed to wield the relentless use of power by the proletariat against the rest of society.

Originally the Bolsheviki divided the population into four categories in order of preference: menial laborers; clerical workers; employers of others; and lastly, land-owners, capitalists, and the idle rich. Cards for food were issued, but as there was not enough even for the first class, the other classes were soon abolished. Private trading was forbidden; the shops of Petrograd and other cities were closed; and the small supplies of food were concentrated in a few

hundred municipal stores. The army was fed first, then the workingmen. The others might starve, or flee from the country, or go to work under the new scheme.

It is not necessary to give way to exaggeration or to wholesale condemnation. There has been undoubted exaggeration and misrepresentation with regard to recent conditions in Russia. It is unjust, for instance, to say that Bolshevism internationalized women. At Saratof, a single soviet, not Bolshevik but anarchist, proposed this as a local plan, but it would be as unjust to generalize from this exception as to assume that the Americans were polygamists because of the existence of the Mormons. The Bolshevik marriage laws are totally against such a plan.

We may roughly divide Russia into three classes. Somewhat less than one-tenth are reactionaries, desiring the return of their former special privileges. They include the old bureaucrats, officials, police, land-owners, capitalists, and dispossessed classes. They desire the return of "the good old days," many of them believing that the peasant is a "pig," incapable of education or of self-government, and that he should be given vodka and the knout. The other extreme, perhaps less than one-tenth, belongs to the convinced Bolsheviki, the destructive international socialists who would use any method, any means, any force, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Each of these extremes stands for class rule.

But between these two are the remaining eighty per cent of the people, and this heart of Russia is still sound. They do not want the oppression either of the Czar or of a proletarian dictator. They want land, they want peace, they want work, they want the law and order of a truly democratic government, living in harmony with all other nations.

For a considerable time production, transportation, and industry were broken down. The laborers' soviet of a factory could not get the fuel or raw materials to run the plant. Factory after factory was thus closed. The railways deteriorated, and none would repair them. Supplies of food and fuel, raw materials, and manufactured articles were lacking. The population of the cities was reduced almost to starvation. The abundant harvests, twenty per cent above normal in Southern Russia, have kept the peasants well fed, but the city poor are starving.

Legislation was by decrees which could not be enforced. Discipline and order for a time gave place to chaos. The output of the manufacturing concerns had been diminished to from five to fifty per cent of the pre-war basis. Unemployment was rapidly spreading. The banking system has almost completely broken down and the credit system had failed. Paper money had been printed on a colossal scale but it is now almost valueless; the peasant no longer wants it. With the decrease of the output, prices have soared to the impossible. Thus a vicious circle

has been created. We cannot deny, however, that no system would have a fair trial or a favorable opportunity, if blockaded by the world.

The national health, through underfeeding, lack of organization, and lack of medicines, has deteriorated. Epidemic diseases, such as cholera, typhus, typhoid, smallpox, and influenza, have been rampant. Already wooden buildings are being torn down and the material used for fuel. Because of decreased production, the people have been consuming the accumulated capital of past centuries, and Russia is being bled white.

Russia seems now to be on the verge of a third and last development. The first revolution was primarily political in the overthrow of Czarism. The second, or Bolshevik revolution, was primarily social, in the overthrow of capitalism and commercialism. The third development for the establishment of a true democracy, both political and social, seems now to be needed. If Russia is left to herself, the leaders will either have to grant social justice and democracy for all classes alike, or the people of Russia will take matters into their own hands and work out their own salvation. Selfish class rule, whether proletarian or capitalist, is doomed, and democracy will hold the field at the end of the day.

IV

THE HOPE OF RUSSIA

One need not seek far to find the essential errors in the transitional system in Russia. If it rests on the same basis as Czarism, a selfish class rule at the expense of the community, upon which it enforces its will by compulsion, if it fans to flame class-hatred, instead of stimulating cooperation and the principle of love, if it offers a stone in place of bread to the hungry heart of Russia, and tries to stifle the deep religious instincts of the people by the materialism of Marx, it will fail because of the absence of recognition of the eternal spiritual verities, the lack of moral basis, and the denial of individual liberty. The rulers of Russia have not understood the toleration of minorities. They have tried to enforce uniformity. They have failed to enforce discipline, because they have taken away its sanctions and undermined the basis of society. They first fostered destruction rather than construction, and have swept away the slow and painful gains of humanity accumulated by past centuries of toil, to try a theatrical experiment.

Our democracy has been built up upon private thrift, the securing of the fruits of individual labor, the application of intelligence to the process of production, and the discipline of ordered society. All

these the new system swept away. The motive for toil and honest labor is weakened; it is more profitable to make speeches and feed upon the diminishing food supply.

The tactical errors of these Russian leaders have only been equaled by the blunders of the Allies in dealing with them. In one thing at least the Bolsheviki have shown themselves masters, and that is in their clever propaganda. The stupid threats of the allied propaganda to the Bolsheviki, and the exaggerated misrepresentations against them have only strengthened their cause. The worst allied blunder of all has been that of armed intervention. The Bolsheviki have been given the opportunity of rallying the patriotic elements of the nation to resist foreign and reactionary forces which are advancing upon the country. Allied intervention, which was intended to overthrow Bolshevism, has actually strengthened it. Left to themselves, the people might have risen to demand their rights but threatened by what they considered a foreign foe, they turned against the invader to defend their own Soviet Republic.

Why was intervention a failure? It failed because it was opposed by the intelligent laboring classes of Britain and America. It failed because it turned the people of Russia against the Allies. We left North Russia, because we were not wanted by the majority of the people whom we had come to relieve.

Those who wanted us most were the men of the old *régime* who desired the restoration of the good old times and the "benevolent" rule of the privileged class. It is chiefly the reactionaries who have been filling our press and urging intervention, but we have no desire to reestablish the hideous *régime* of the old order.

As we have already seen, the minorities of Russia have failed and forfeited their right to rule. One class remains, and they are the one great hope of the future; that is, the Russian people themselves. They have not yet had their innings. If the Allies withdraw and prevent the forcible exploitation of the country by Germany, Russia left to herself will work out her own destiny. There may be the temporary domination by military autocrats; Napoleons, great or little, may for a time gain control. But Russia, sick at heart, has learned deep in the soul of her masses to distrust the exploitation of all dictators. The pendulum which has swung to both extremes will come in time to a middle position. When that day comes, Russia will take her rightful place in the world again. Sooner or later the great peasant classes will assert themselves. An impoverished, illiterate, and half-civilized Russia was not ready for the experiment of state Socialism, but Russia is destined to become one of the great democracies of the world. Either those in power, learning from their own failure, must be-

come more democratic, and yield to the will of the people; or the old reactionaries, confessing the injustice and failure of their own former rule, must become more liberal; or else the people, rejecting both extremes, must assert their own will.

The Germans are busy with their peaceful penetration and are ready to exploit Russia. It will not do for America merely to withdraw: we must make good our generous promises made through President Wilson, which at the time filled the Russian people with hope. What they need now is not empty sympathy but help, not armed intervention but cooperation. The Allies cannot successfully invade, conquer, and control a nation which contains the largest white population and the largest natural resources in the world. When armed intervention was tried, many of the Russians fighting in the ranks turned against the foreign officers and went over to the Bolsheviki. What we need is to appeal to the heart of democratic Russia, to offer not the stupid threats of a useless propaganda, but the promise of practical cooperation, the exchange of raw materials and manufactured goods, as soon as Russia shall call a *bona fide* constituent assembly and set up an honest, democratic government of, for, and by the people.

It will help us to estimate Russia's future if we glance for a moment at her natural resources and the character and history of her people. We shall see

that she is not insolvent and that her condition is not hopeless. Russia is vast not only in size but in her gigantic resources, which as yet have scarcely been touched. From the rich black belt of fertile soil of the solid South, one of the great wheat areas of the world, on eastward across the wide Siberian plain, it is a land of promise and opportunity. We expected to find Siberia a dreary desert, but as we journeyed across its magnificent distances we found it a fertile Canada, with vast horizons of rich virgin soil, huge forests uncut, and mineral wealth whose surface has hardly been scratched. Siberia contains an area one and a half times that of the United States, with a population of only some 10,000,000. It is rich in its supply of gold and other minerals, and is capable of sustaining a large population. If Siberia were peopled with the same density of population as that of Belgium today, it would hold more than 3,000,000,000 people, or twice the present population of the entire world. There is a great future in the trade relations that will open between North America and Siberia across the Pacific.

With America, Britain, and China, Russia is rich in its supplies of coal, and though largely undeveloped, already ranks sixth in the world's production. It takes second place in its output of petroleum, the mineral oil industry of Baku alone yielding in normal times between ten and eleven million tons of crude oil. The refined oil is exported as kerosene

or petroleum while the heavier refuse is used as fuel. Russia already stands fourth among the iron-producing countries, though the industry in the Urals, one of the principal mining centers, is still conducted by primitive methods, wood being largely used for fuel and the ore being transported by water. It produces more than ninety per cent of the world's supply of platinum.

Two-thirds of the area of European Russia is sown with cereals. In normal times Russia stands first in the world in its production of rye, second in wheat, second in oats, and follows America and India as third in the number of cattle, though livestock is now diminishing in numbers all around. Modern dairy farming is only just beginning in Russia, but butter is being exported in increasing quantities. Russia has the second largest railway system in the world, with 50,000 miles, sixty per cent of which was owned by the state.[1]

Russia is a land of raw products and vast potential wealth. Her agriculture, however, is backward; her manufactures and industries are not yet developed; her rich mines, through lack of capital, organization, and wise legislation, are almost unutilized.

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Country	*Railway Mileage*	*Owned by State*
1. United States	255,332	.....
2. Russia	48,534	31,366
3. Germany	39,600	36,619
4. India	34,648	29,317
5. France	31,807	5,610

As a result, her total wealth of $40,000,000,000 is less than the $60,000,000,000 of the annual income of the United States. There are vast undeveloped resources alike in the Russian soil, and in the Russian people. While the people struggle in poverty, these great resources may be exploited for the profit of some foreign nation, as by the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, or they may be developed by friendly cooperation and released for the enrichment of Russia and the world.

Russia contains the largest white population of any country in the world, and has increased in the last fifteen years by more then 42,000,000.[2]

Through their latent force the Russians are one

[2]In 1915 Russia had a population of 182,182,600, increasing annually more than 3,000,000, or 2¼ per cent.

According to the Russian Year Book for 1916, the number per 1000 engaged in various occupations was as follows:

Occupations		*Social Status of Population*	
Agriculture	746	Peasants	771
Mining	96	Burgesses	107
Day Labor	46	Natives (non-Russian)	66
Trade and Commerce	38	Cossacks	23
All Other	74	Nobles	15
		Clergy	5
		All Others	13
	1000		1000

The religious faiths of the population in percentage are as follows: Orthodox 69.90, Muhammadans 10.83, Roman Catholics 8.91, Protestants 4.85, Jews 4.05, other Christians 0.96, other non-Christians 0.50.

Russia contains twice the white population of the British Empire, and one and a half times the white population of the United States.

of the great expanding peoples of the world. Menaced by the Mongols on the East, the Germans on the West, the Norsemen on the Baltic, and the Turks on the South, starting from the little principality of Moscow, no larger than Belgium, Russia has expanded to some 500 times its original area. It pressed steadily southward until it swallowed up part of Turkey, westward until it embraced Poland, northward until it included Finland, and eastward to the Pacific.

Russia is the meeting-place between the East and the West; the most eastward of the Western nations, the most westward of the Eastern nations, it contains the blood of both. While Slavs are the predominant race, there has been a large admixture of Tartar, Finnish, and other Asiatic blood.

The Russian character is partly the product of environment, from the fierce fight with nature and man, evolved through more than a thousand years of suffering. To know Russia and her past is to understand and sympathize with her. We must judge her people and their faults with charity. They were cut off from the possibility of rapid development by a corrupt and autocratic court, a reactionary bureaucracy and a luxurious and selfish aristocracy. If the Russians are often childlike in nature, we must remember that Russia, though one of the largest, is yet the youngest of nations, and has been the most handicapped.

Physically the Russians are the finest people in the world, of giant strength, capable of doing titanic work even when sustained by the poorest food. We shall attempt briefly to analyze and summarize the psychology of the educated classes. We cannot judge Russia by her uneducated peasant class, any more than we could fairly judge our present capacity by that of our unlettered ancestors. In his *intellectual* nature, the Russian is brilliant and versatile, though often superficial in his culture. His courses at the university are on a higher plane than those of most American colleges, and would rank with the universities of Germany. The Russian has a large capacity for comprehension, quick assimilation and imitation, and is a gifted linguist. He is an extreme individualist and often an idealist. Yet there is also a passion for reality about the Russian. The peasant in particular is practical and hardheaded.

In his *emotional* nature the Russian has a vast capacity for affection; he is even more warm-hearted than the Irish, and more sympathetic than the French. His most striking characteristic is his "all-humanness." In his *aesthetic* nature the Russian is highly artistic and imaginative. He is often romantic, introspective, with a fine vein of sentiment, tinged with a deep sadness reflected from the suffering both of the individual and the nation. Repressed politically, the Russian has expressed the pent-up wealth of his nature in literature, art, and music.

The *religious* nature of the Russian is deep, mystical, reverent. The simple Russian has, perhaps, the deepest religious consciousness of any of the races of Europe, though many of the modern intellectuals, reacting against a corrupt state and church, have swung for the moment into atheism or agnosticism.

The Russian excels his Anglo-Saxon brother in brilliance of intellect, warmth of affection, depth of religious consciousness, and artistic temperament. In his *volitional* nature, however, we reach what is at present the Russian's greatest lack. In undeveloped will power, and lack of moral backbone, repressed as he has been by centuries of autocracy, and undeveloped by strict discipline, he tends to be mercurial, with a lack of balance and proportion. At present he lacks Anglo-Saxon common sense and capacity for organization. These will develop by experience. The strong womanhood of Russia is at present its greatest hope.

If now we gather up these five elements of the Russian nature, in their actual combination we find three resultant characteristics of the Russian temperament. The first is a remarkable *adaptability*, plasticity, suppleness of mind, and clear intuition and insight, in strong contrast to the plodding and methodical Teuton. This Oriental faculty of adaptability makes the Russian a good colonist, and gives him capacity to rule successfully over primitive races. The second result of this combination is *impulsive-*

ness, with a tendency to go to extremes, plunging in with no sense of balance or proportion. The third result of this combination of Russian psychology is found in the contradictions and *paradoxes* of the Russian character. Reflecting the fierce extremes of his climate, the Russian is subject to changing moods. He plunges from gaiety to despair, from titanic energy to apathy, from intellectual audacity to timidity of conduct. He is affectionate, gentle, and kind, yet "scratch a Russian and you find a Tartar." Rouse the Russian mob to the boiling point, and there is no cruelty or excess to which it may not be carried. The Tartar warrior once again flames and strikes. Long repressed by the greatest autocracy, the Russian is yet the most democratic of all men. He is frank, lovable, open as the sunshine, a child of nature, the world's younger brother.[3]

Thus the Russian is strong, brilliant, artistic, where we are prosaic and materialistic, but he is

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[3] Maurice Baring in his analysis of the Russian character makes the following summary:

1. Plasticity—resulting in: *Positive:* a. Humaneness. b. Assimilation. c. Suppleness of mind. d. Absence of hypocrisy. e. Liberty of thought. *Negative:* a. Indulgence and laxity. b. Lack of originality. c. Superficiality. d. Lack of backbone. e. Lack of discipline.

2. Absence of bonds, bars, and barriers. *Positive:* a. Spasmodic energy. b. Audacity of thought. *Negative:* a. Extravagance of conduct. b. Timidity of conduct. c. Fear of responsibility. d. Lack of individuality, independence, civic courage.

3. Positivism. a. Patience, unity of purpose. b. Cooperative energy.

weak just at the point where we may help him in the capacity for practical organization. He lacks as yet in moral will power, but, like the vast resources of his soil, he is still in the giant childhood of his undeveloped immaturity, with undisciplined but mighty powers.

While in Russia, the writer found a flood of light thrown on the Russian character by scores of letters received from Russian students. Frequent reference to suicide and the deep diapason of sadness sound most strongly in these letters. They showed a depth of suffering in Russia even before the War. Three examples may suffice.

1. A letter from a young Jew on the verge of suicide:

"I shall endeavor to state the bare facts, which are perfectly known to any one having to do with the Jewish youth of Russia. If the question were put to me whether there is any religious interest among the Jewish youth, I should reply, 'No, none.' But, side by side with conscious unbelief, one can notice in almost every individual a deep sorrow and a longing to find some way to a higher ideal. Now in their midst you can notice the growth of a national movement. But that movement has nothing to do with religion or with God. All the thinking Jewish youth are unbelieving. The movement is still in its very beginning, but it has a rich soil which is abundantly fertilized by the Russian Government, by all its limitations, its restrictions, and its persecutions. . . . As for my own life, I sneered at religion as

other people did and called it superstition. The farther and the deeper I tried to go into the substance of things, the more I was brought to a complete negation of life. . . . . I decided that to live thus, without any object, was quite impossible. Therefore, the hour was fixed for my life to be brought to an end. However, a friend of mine persuaded me that not even death is an end. My friend discovered that while attempting to commit suicide himself; the noose around his neck broke and he fell to the ground. He advised me to read the Gospel and to try to enter into the meaning of it, saying that it had helped him. I seized upon that as a drowning man catches at a straw. I cannot yet define the results, but I can say that that book and your lectures have persuaded me that it is possible for people to find an object in life and to believe in the future. My life is not the only case of disappointment and despair. Here you have facing you a whole company of my poor disappointed comrades, intellectual, thoughtful young Hebrews."

2. "I am a medical student troubled by doubts and passions, who had lost all faith and saw no meaning to life. On the 25th of January I left my roommate for the last time, saying: 'Good-by; tomorrow I will cease to exist.' A life without meaning, without aim, without eternity, with nothing but human pleasures, was disgusting to me. I saw the notice of your lecture on 'A Rational Basis for Religion,' and 'The Meaning of Life.' I went, and on returning, I went to sleep for the first time during the last two months without thoughts of suicide. Since then I have daily been to your lectures. I now read the Gospel daily and am again able to pray.

I do not know what the future will be, but now I desire again to live. In any case, I shall prolong my life for the next three months to make the test of Jesus Christ by reading the Gospel again as you asked us. Pray for me."

3. "I am the daughter of a pious priest. Four years ago, at the age of seventeen, I took poison and tried to commit suicide, but the doctor prevented my carrying out my purpose. I now live only for my parents' sake. I am like a living corpse. My only desire is for death. Under present conditions in Russia I see no meaning in life. I have lost all faith in God. What am I to do? I will faithfully read the Gospel every day, as you ask us, during the next three months, and see if God answers my prayers. I can do no more."

During the month which the writer spent in Russia lecturing to students, they crowded to the meetings, often standing for two hours a night, listening eagerly for a message of hope. In Kief sixty new students, in Petrograd over seventy, and in Moscow one hundred handed in their names as desiring to join Bible classes, to make a fresh study of the life and teaching of Christ. In these three centers alone were 75,000 college students without one Russian worker giving his whole time to Christian work among them. A limited investment in altruistic endeavor would immediately reach a larger number of students, and meet a more desperate need, than are to be found in any other land.[4]

[4]See further Appendixes II and III.

One could hardly understand America today if he knew nothing of the Pilgrim Fathers, the Revolution, or the Civil War. To understand the Russia of the present, one must know something of her past. It is the record of a thousand years of human suffering, as her people have struggled upward to the light of liberty. Russia has suffered more than any other great nation in the Western hemisphere. There is a river of blood running through ten centuries of Russia's tragic past.

The Slavs, like their white brothers of the Anglo-Saxon race, entered Europe from Asia. Their history falls into four clearly defined periods.

1. *The Independent Principalities, 8th-13th Centuries.*

Three cities have formed the radiating centers of Russian life. The first was Kief in the south, "the mother of Russian cities," the second Moscow in the center, "the heart of Russia," the third Petrograd in the north, "the head of Russia." Kief in the ninth century became the cradle of Russian life and its commercial and political center. Yet even in this early period of independent principalities, the country was laid waste by eighty-three civil wars. During the course of a century and a half Kief was repeatedly taken by storm and pillage, until finally the whole country was desolated by the foreign invasion of fierce marauding tribes.

2. *The Tartar or Mongol Dominion, 1238-1462 A.D.*

In the midst of war at home Russia was sudden
swept by a cyclonic foreign invasion. Geng
Khan, after conquering China, advanced westwa
and defeated the Russians in 1224 A. D., extendi
his realm over Asia and Europe from the Pacific
the Baltic and Danube. Russia now passed f
two centuries under the galling Tartar yoke, a
the clock of Russian culture was put back for gener
tions. Forced to pay tribute, they were invade
from time to time by the Tartars, who swept ov
Russia with terrible devastation.

3. *The Czardom of Russia, 1380-1689.*

To unite the Russian nation, the princes of Mosco
consolidated their possessions and threw off the Ta
tar yoke, but they laid the foundation of autocrac
which rested upon the Russian people with its dea
weight for more than five centuries. Autocrac
always advanced at the cost of the people. In tw
centuries (1228-1462) bleeding Russia had to suff
the horrors of ninety internal conflicts and over 15
foreign wars, while drought, famine, and fire added t
the poverty of the peasants. Still there was a grea
unconquerable hope at the heart of Russia.

The early Czars combined the barbaric luxury of th
Tartar Khan with the splendor of the Byzantin
Emperor, while the people paid in taxes and bloo
Ivan the Terrible (1533-84) inaugurated, apparentl
without any reason, a reign of terror lasting f
twenty-five years. Toward his own people he acte

like a savage invader in a conquered territory. He mercilessly devastated peaceful districts, simply to terrorize the population. During his six weeks residence in the old municipal republic of Novgorod he is said to have massacred 60,000 men, women, and children. Still Russia suffered in patience. A later monarch, Boris, bound the peasants to the soil, forbade immigration or free movement, and fastened upon them the fetters of serfdom, which the Russian peasantry endured for the next two and a half centuries.

When the throne fell vacant, Michael Romanoff was chosen Czar in 1613, and a new dynasty of more or less benevolent tyrants was fastened upon Russia.

This first of the Romanoffs promoted the internal prosperity of the country, revived its long prostrate commerce, and in 1639 extended the borders of his Asiatic possessions to the Pacific.

4. *The Modern Period, 1689-1917.*

Peter the Great (1689-1725), whose name has been preserved in the national capital which he founded, undertook a series of radical administrative reforms.

By main force of autocracy he succeeded in transforming the semi-Oriental society of Russia into an Occidental society and making Russia into a European power. These changes were, however, so unsuited to the national character and customs, and the officials who were to carry them out remained

so indifferent to the public welfare, that little wa actually accomplished.

On the death of Peter the autocratic power whic he had wielded so vigorously passed into the hand of a series of weak, indolent rulers who were guide by personal caprice rather than by serious politica considerations. The next great figure to emerg is that of Catherine II during whose long reig (1762-1796) Russia made rapid progress in civiliza tion and came to be fully recognized as one of th Great Powers. By her large grants of land t courtiers and distinguished public servants, by he establishment of secondary schools in the principa towns, and by her emphasis on increased refinement i the life of the court, Catherine made herself ver popular in the upper ranks of society, but did littl or nothing to lighten the burdens of the people Popular discontent found expression in various forms The contradictions of Catherine's character—bril liant, capricious, of lax morals and large intellect a she was—have earned for her the title of the mos picturesque of the rulers of Russia. While sur rounding herself with courtiers of doubtful reputa tion, she was the professed patron of public morality and founded many churches and benevolent institu tions; though essentially more despotic than any o her immediate predecessors, she convoked an assem bly of delegates from all the districts to frame a new and more liberal code of laws.

In the early part of his reign, Alexander I (1801-1825) sought to put into practice some of the democratic ideas of his time and to institute educational and other reforms. But his attention became more and more engrossed with foreign affairs, for it was largely due to his skill and persistency during the three years preceding Waterloo that Europe was freed from the domination of Napoleon, and he gradually adopted in all departments of national administration a strongly reactionary policy. Profound dissatisfaction and disappointment in the liberal section of the educated classes were the inevitable result.

His brother, Nicholas I (1825-1855), who succeeded him, combined with his steadfast faith in autocratic methods an exaggerated fear of revolutionary principles and ruled Russia with an iron hand. It is not strange, therefore, that the first decade of the reign of his son, Alexander II (1855-1881), was a violent reaction against the political and intellectual stagnation of the preceding period, and is known in Russia as "the epoch of the great reforms."

The first step taken by the young emperor was the abolition of serfdom, thus creating more than 20,000,000 freemen, who were enabled by a system of state loans to secure small farms on an instalment plan of payment. He undertook also to bring about the thorough reorganization of the judicial administration, and the development of

local self-government. These great changes were made, but the sanguine expectations which had accompanied them were not realized, and the government gave it to be understood that the epoch of the great reforms was closed.

When about to grant a constitution to the people in 1881, Alexander II was killed by a terrorist's bomb, and his son Alexander III (1881-1894) entered upon a reign of reaction and oppression. He had been consulted on the constitutional project and had assented, but on his accession other influences prevailed, and the reform which would have been the first step toward parliamentary government was not carried out. For two decades an average of 20,000 victims a year were banished to Siberia. The last Czar, Nicholas II, came to the throne in 1894. He was more humane, but weak and vacillating, and he became the easy victim of the evil forces surrounding him. For a long weary century pathetic movements for freedom had been repeatedly organized among the people. Finally on October 30, 1905, the Czar, in a panic at the national uprising, vaguely promised all manner of reforms. The first radical Duma opened in 1906, but was soon dissolved by the Czar. The second was closed the following year. The third Duma opened at the end of 1907. Stolypin stood firm against the demands of the Duma, and the revolution which began in 1905 for the liberation of the toiling masses broke

down. The cause of failure lay in the lack of leadership among the intellectuals, lack of discipline, of unity, and of real identification with the people. By 1909 the Government had banished 180,000 political exiles to Siberia.

Russia has suffered enough to earn her freedom. But let us not think that all her suffering has been fruitless. The backward swing of the pendulum of reaction may carry the hour hand along the dial plate of human progress as truly as the forward swing of radical reform. At both extremes Russia will have learned a great lesson. Let us not blame her if she does not instantly rise to democratic discipline, for even the struggle of the Anglo-Saxon for liberty was the slow growth of centuries, and the Republic of France was long unstable. Russia is, like her own prisoners suddenly released from Siberia, tottering with unsteady footsteps and with eyes half blinded and unaccustomed to face the light of liberty. But she has been learning the first painful lessons of democracy.

Russia appeals to us today by her tragic need. For a thousand years her vast masses, fighting against poverty and oppression, aggressive wars from without and cruel autocracy within, have slowly struggled toward freedom. Autocracy can never long hold Russia after her people have tasted liberty. Russia will yet find herself.

The writer met Madam Breshkovsky, the "Little

Grandmother of the Revolution." After thirty-
years of terrible experiences in the prisons of Sibe
she had been released only to have the hope
a lifetime dashed to the ground. Yet her faith
the future and her faith in God's purpose for
country have never wavered. It is her unshaken c
viction that tyranny will pass and that Russia
yet be vindicated as the leader of Democracy.
said: "I know my people—lawyers, students, pe
ants, and soldiers; I know them all, and I l
them. I believe in the great future of Russia.
may not live to see it myself, but *it will come.*"

As a Russian poet says:

"Never can the reason master,
Never can the foot-rule measure
Russia's own peculiar essence—
Faith alone can fathom Russia."

With all our heart we still believe in Russia.
believe in her, because we believe in humani
because we believe in God, because we believe it
yet be Everybody's World. This great people
not suffered for a thousand years in vain. O
sixth of the land area of the globe cannot forever
turned over to anarchy and corruption. We m
help Russia with a disinterested, generous, and frie
ly cooperation to regain her footing and to find h
self. A Nihilistic Russia would be a menace to
world, a breeding center of contagion for all natio
A peaceful, settled, and prosperous Russia will

blessing to humanity. Prince Kropotkin, the well-known Russian writer, says that at the present moment the most urgent need is to save Russia from impending starvation. He implores America to send seeds, tractors, agricultural implements, and experts, "as a direct gift and a friendly service from nation to nation."

The law of sacrifice will yet bear its costly fruit, for even here nothing walks with aimless feet. God's in His heaven still, and all will yet be well with Russia. Pitt might cry in agony of soul, "Roll up the map of Europe," and we shall now have to roll it up once again. But we shall have a new Russia, a new Europe, and a new world—Everybody's World.

Democratic Russia turns to the great democracy, America, for help and cooperation. This is the hour of Russia's need, and this our day of opportunity.

V

JAPAN AFTER THE WAR

The problem of the Pacific and of the Far E is one of the great issues before the Americ people. Nearly all of our statesmen have recogniz this.[1] But there is more at stake in the Far E than most Americans have ever realized. A v population of over 600,000,000 finds its only out to the sea and its chief contact with the West up the shores of the Pacific. The trade of Japan creased nearly seventy-fold in the last fifty yea from a paltry $13,000,000, when she entered modern world in 1868, to over $1,000,000,000 1918. If the trade of China should increase in same proportion during the next fifty years, would require $25,000,000,000 annually in impo

[1] William H. Seward, after visiting the Far East, said: "Pacific and the vast regions beyond will become the theater of events in the world's great hereafter." Mr. Taft before the War: "The problem of the Pacific is the gre problem now before the American people." Mr. Roosevelt "The Mediterranean era died with the discovery of Amc the Atlantic era is now at the height of its development; Pacific era, destined to be the greatest of all, is just at dawn." Dr. Reinsch, the able Foreign Minister of the U States in China, wrote: "There have been great crises in history, but none comparable to the drama which is now enacted in the Far East, upon the outcome of which depend welfare not only of a country, or a section of the race, but mankind."

or ten times the amount of the total export trade of the United States at the outbreak of the War.

The problem of the Pacific is significant not only because of the vast populations and the growing trade upon its shores, but because it raises the great race question which confronts the American people. The white race numbers approximately 795,000,000, or forty-eight per cent of the world's population. The yellow race numbers 630,000,000, or about thirty-eight per cent.[2] These are the two great races of the world.

America as the last outpost of the white race, and Japan as the representative of the Mongolian race, face one another across the Pacific. What is their future to be? The Mongolian race will present either a yellow peril or a golden opportunity. If there ever is a yellow peril, it will be one of our own making. Today one of our greatest opportunities for service lies in the Far East. Here also, unless we live up to the high idealism for which we entered the War, will lie our chief danger of conflict.

There are three expanding races in the world today, which have made, and will probably increasingly make, a deep impression upon the other races and peoples. These are the Anglo-Saxon, the

[2] According to Whitaker's Almanac, "The dominant color is yellow—the numerical order being, Mongolian, 655,000,000; Caucasian, 645,000,000; Negro, 190,000,000; Semitic, 81,000,000; Malayan, 52,000,000; Red Indian, 23,000,000; total 1,646,000,000."

Teutonic, and the Mongolian Japanese. We know the ideals for which the Anglo-Saxon race has striven to stand, though it has not always lived up to them—liberty, democracy, and righteousness. We know the grave menace of Prussian militarism, which we trust has been forever discredited by the War. What is to be the nature of the Japanese expansion? Is it to be autocratic or democratic, militaristic or peaceful, Christian or pagan? That will depend largely upon America. The War has wrought a radical change of attitude in Japan toward America. The United States is no longer looked upon as a nation of money-grabbing, timid materialists, but as an efficient and powerful democracy. While traveling in Japan, we found more space given to America in the Japanese press than to any other nation; this has trebled in the last few years. Japan is watching closely to see if America lives up to her ideals, or whether the high professions of the War were mere cant and hypocrisy to cover up a policy of materialistic selfishness at home and abroad.

A visit to Japan this year and one to Germany before the War convinced the writer that there was a striking parallel between the past development of Japan and that of Prussia. The comparison holds good only up to the time of Count Terauchi's reactionary cabinet. It is our firm belief that Japan has not been blind to the lesson of the War and that

she will not follow the discredited policy of autocratic militarism.

The German Empire which menaced the world under Prussian domination was marked by the following characteristics: It was a militaristic *régime*, based upon a feudal inheritance, centering in the almost absolute power of "the State"; suspicious of democracy, it believed in the autocratic state control of education, of the press, of trade and commerce, and of legislation for social welfare; it consistently practiced a militaristic colonial rule, often with contempt for the peoples it had conquered or controlled, and it had an efficient, world-wide intelligence department and spy system.

The past history of Japan presents a striking similarity to these ten characteristics of Prussianism. We should remember that the Japanese Christian leaders, however, have the same ideals as our own. They condemn the past militaristic policy of their government as unsparingly as does any foreigner. They are the hope of the future. But there is a self-centered and militaristic trend in the Government inherited from the past which must be reckoned with.

1. The Japanese have been an expanding and dominant race, organized under a *strong militarism*. They had a great military past and were a people of warriors more than two thousand years ago.

2. Japan had *a feudal inheritance* from the past

and is still to a large extent under the domination of the great Choshu and Satsuma clans. The leaders of the Choshu clan have largely controlled the army, the colonies, the home office, and the education of the country. Those of Satsuma have been dominant in the navy, the department of finance, and in industry. It was these clans which restored the Emperor to power fifty years ago.

3. *The power of the throne* has been inviolable. The accepted tradition taught in the schools is that for more than twenty-five centuries Japan has been ruled by a single dynasty. The "Throne" was almost worshiped. The people have existed for the Government rather than the Government for the people, although the theory in Japan was that the Emperor was the father and the people his children. In Prince Ito's striking phrase, "The word 'people' denoted merely a numerical mass of governed units." [3] Divided feudal Japan became united as a single nation fifty years ago, in 1868, after a military victory. The Japanese have firmly held that their

[3] The doctrine of Imperial Divinity has been expanded and sedulously propagated by the statesmen and bureaucrats during the past thirty years with marked effect. Thus Baron Oura, Minister of Home Affairs, said in February, 1911, "That the majesty of our Imperial House towers high above everything to be found in the world, and that it is as durable as heaven and earth is too well known to need dwelling on here. If it is considered that our country needs a religious faith, then, I say, let it be converted to a belief in the religion of patriotism and loyalty, the religion of Imperialism—in other words to Emperor-worship."

emperor is divine and descended from the gods. The law of *lése majesté* protects the throne from public scrutiny, and a military oligarchy has acted in the name of the throne as the power behind it.

4. The Government was *based on autocracy* and had *an inherent dread of democracy* and socialism. In Japan, until the end of the War, the very words democracy and socialism were in high disfavor. Films quoting parts of President Wilson's speeches were not allowed to be shown. If he wished to make the world "safe for democracy," that was the last thing that the autocratic oligarchy in Japan wished to see, as it inevitably threatened their system. So nervous was Japan that in 1912 a book on "The Social Habits of Animals" was suppressed by the police, fearing that it might encourage the doctrine of socialism.

5. Japan consistently believed in the *state control of education* so as to buttress the cult of intense patriotism and unreflecting submission to the powers that be. In the primary schools the children were taught that they were "a peculiar people," with unique virtues. They were filled with a sense of their great destiny, and had a tendency to despise other nations, especially those smaller and weaker, or those which seemed to stand in the way of their manifest destiny.

6. There was *an autocratic control of the press.* The "Elder Statesmen" and the Ministers of War

and Navy could bring about the suppression of a newspaper or any edition which published matter considered objectionable to the authorities. Most of the papers have been controlled by members of the oligarchy and all were placed under a strict censorship. Japan has also exercised a powerful influence over the press of other nations.

7. There has been a rapid and remarkable *expansion in trade and commerce* under the direction and subsidy of the Government. They have encouraged ship-building, and subsidized companies to enable them to compete successfully with foreign nations. They have controlled large government monopolies, including some of the principal products in Korea and Formosa.

8. The Government adopted *a paternalistic attitude* toward the nation. The people were taught to be grateful for benefits conferred upon them from above. A benevolent and efficient paternalism seemed more successful than a loose democracy.

9. Japan had stood for *a militaristic colonial rule.* The German colonies offered a model to Japan. She followed the Prussian system rather than the British or American. The Japanese have developed the material welfare of their colonies, but they have consistently limited every expression of liberty, of democracy, and of development toward self-government. In actual practice they have not stood for the open door of trade. If Germany had

trusted her colonies and treated generously her conquered people she would not have lost them. If Japan will but trust and treat generously the people of Korea, as brothers and equals, they will respond and reward her a hundred-fold, like the conquered Boers of South Africa who fought so loyally for Britain in the late war.

10. Japan stood for *an elaborate and efficient intelligence department.*

Japan and Germany thus were parallel in several aspects of their past development. Each was a military oligarchy administered by a bureaucracy in the name of a divine autocracy. German officers had trained the Japanese Army, and since the Russo-Japanese War Japan had turned to Prussia for many of her models. But, as we have said, she is standing today at the parting of the ways. We believe that during the period of reconstruction Japan will not try to follow the discredited system of militarism and seek the selfish exploitation of China and the Far East, but that she will learn the great lesson of the War that autocratic militarism and intolerant nationalism are forever doomed, because they are against the whole world's welfare. As the leader of the East, in unselfish altruism she may fully enter into the brotherhood of nations. The writer believes implicitly in the Japanese people as a whole, and, like many of them, he is confident that the days of the narrow but able oligarchy are numbered. Just as they

adapted themselves to the modern world in 1868, in one of the greatest changes known in all history, so they will adapt themselves to the present world movement for democracy. Even their conservative leaders will not be as slow to learn as the proud Prussian Junkers, nor will they make the same fatal mistake. We admire Japan's great past, we sympathize with her present difficulties, we believe in her greater future that is yet to be.

The issue of the War will change the history of this nation. During our recent visit to Japan, as we interviewed her leaders and scanned her press, we became impressed with the fact that they were learning the lesson of the War. They have seen the futility and failure of an autocratic militarism based upon material science. Their former prototype and pattern has been utterly defeated and discredited, and there remains no successful example of autocratic militarism in the world. Militarism has produced Bolshevism. Repression has given birth to reaction. On the other hand, democracies are now seen to be efficient. Democracy has won the day and holds the fate of the future.

There are many signs of the steady advance of democracy in Japan. The forcing out of the reactionary Terauchi cabinet in September, 1918, and its replacement by the liberal Hara cabinet were brought about by the press and public opinion. It gives us solid ground to believe that Japan has al-

ready resolved to cast in her lot with the democratic peoples of the world. A host of her intelligent middle class are in open sympathy with these peoples. Her best Christian leaders have the same democratic ideals as our own. Never before have the press and platform enjoyed such freedom. A score of her leaders stand forth as fearless critics, boldly proclaiming the failure of Germany and the doom of Japan if she follows in her footsteps. They point out the true sincerity of Anglo-Saxon idealism and altruism and the success of democracy. Hara, the present premier, is the first commoner who has been called to that office, and is the leader of the dominant party, entitled "Friends of Constitutionalism." Japan now realizes that she cannot maintain herself in economic and political isolation. Her future is bound up with that of Great Britain and America. She is dependent upon these two countries and China for her raw products. If an open door of free trade, in thought and speech, in the press and on the platform, can be maintained for the next decade, it will mean the final triumph of democracy and of Christian ideals in Japan.

Two forces have been contending for the possession of Japan, like the two principles which met in conflict in the late War. On the one hand, there is the pagan and materialistic force utilizing the discoveries of Western science, organized under the still powerful autocratic militarists, and inspired by the doctrine

that might makes right. On the other hand, there is the spiritual force of liberty, democracy, and righteousness, inspired by the conviction that right makes might, that brotherhood, humanity, altruism, and Christian love are the principles that ultimately will dominate in Everybody's World.

In a striking way these two forces have been brought to bear in recent years upon Japan. Professor Nitobé says: "At present one perceives in the Orient two currents of thought flowing from the Occident, molding the rising generation. One is derived from the continent of Europe . . . making for skepticism and decadence, often pessimistic, negative, and destructive; the other derived from the indefatigable spirit of the Anglo-Saxon race, constructive, robust, forever ready to be up and doing, with a 'heart within and God o'erhead' . . . I believe that, paradoxical as it may seem at first sight, it is through the young civilization of the United States that the old East will receive the freshest moral impulse."[4] In the impact of the West upon the East, two forces have thus been brought to bear upon impressionable Japan, the one Teutonic, the other Anglo-Saxon.

It is not claimed for a moment that all of Germany's influence has been bad and all the Anglo-Saxon influence good, but it is claimed that the history of Japan will largely be determined by her

[4] "The Japanese Nation," page 313.

choice between the material and the spiritual influences brought to bear upon her. It was America which first opened Japan, and to her as her patron Japan turned in the first days of her tutelage. It was American leaders who largely shaped her education and early precedents in trade and commerce. Japan soon discovered, however, that Great Britain was also democratic, but that she had a monarchy, a king-emperor more nearly like her own, and to Britain she looked for most of her political and financial reforms. Finally, however, when Marquis Ito, her greatest statesman, traveled in Europe he discovered that the Prussian system was the one most congenial to Japan. The centralized, autocratic, militaristic, paternal, and efficient government appealed to him, and it was therefore on the Prussian model that Ito drew up the constitution. From Germany Japan received the plan for her army, her medical science, and much of the system of her universities. The philosophy of Nietzsche, the materialism of German scientists like Haeckel, and the utilitarian view of life were eagerly accepted.

Japan does not ask for the promiscuous dumping of her excess population upon our Pacific shores. She herself has an imperial ordinance to protect her labor market against the indiscriminate immigration of the Chinese. She does not permit foreigners to hold land in fee simple, though they can hold it on long lease or through corporations under Japanese

civil law. Japan only asks that she be not gratuitously and deliberately insulted by invidious discrimination, which shall brand her people as an inferior race. If such a plan as Dr. Sidney Gulick has suggested were adopted, Japan could find no logical objection and it would appeal to her innate sense of justice. He suggests that a general law might be passed limiting the immigration of any nationality to a certain percentage of its nationals who are already citizens of the United States. This would limit the number of Japanese and Chinese and uneducated Asiatics, and certain of the less desirable classes of Europe, and would prevent indiscriminate immigration without invidious reflection upon any nation or race. On the other hand, our exclusion law against the Chinese is a plain violation of our treaty with China, and it is a disgrace to allow it to stand on the statute books of a nation which is called Christian and which boasts of its devotion to truth and justice.

In case of war any nation which had command of the sea could easily isolate Japan, and cut her off from Korea and the mainland. She would be forced to make terms, with her trade annihilated and dependent on others for her supply of cotton, iron, nitrates, rice, flour, and other foodstuffs. But no nation could land upon her shores and conquer her there. Japan, on the other hand, would be utterly unable and would make no attempt whatever to

land upon the shores of America. A war brought on by suspicion, jealousy, hatred, or by the influence of yellow journalism or unfriendly legislation, would be criminal and contrary to all our ideals. The vast rational majority of both countries neither desires nor expects it.

America stands in a position of peculiar advantage and responsibility for helping Japan in this second crisis in her modern history. All we need is to live up to the ideals that we have repeatedly proclaimed in this War. If we do so, if we ourselves are true to liberty, democracy, righteousness, and world brotherhood in our cooperation with Japan, China, and Asia, the battle will be won for democracy and Christianity. Let us try to put ourselves in Japan's place. Suppose we had an overcrowded population at home, increasing at the rate of nearly a million a year, with a lack of raw materials, with not enough land even to supply rice and food stuffs for our own population, shut out from the most favored portions of the earth by exclusion laws which seemed humiliating and insulting, what would be our attitude towards such foreign powers? Let us give Japan an open door to the raw materials, trade, and markets that she must have. Let us only ask that she shall fully respect the rights of trade of all other nations represented in China and throughout Asia.

We should help Japan first of all because of our own ideals. We should help her because of her

tremendous importance. Japan is the rudder of Asia. She is a mighty force for good or evil. Her influence will extend throughout the East and will react upon the West. If we have found our true life in liberty and democracy and Christian civilization let us share it with her.

Three forces are bringing the nations together, with their shuttles of friendly intercourse weaving the warp and woof of the international fabric of the future. These are the intercourse of foreign trade, the sharing of common ideals through Western education, and the extension of the principles which lie at the foundation of our life through the friendly ministry of Christian missions.

If we are concerned with humanity, no nation is of greater moment than Japan. The first of the Oriental nations to awaken, the Japanese are today the strong and dominant race in all Asia, and Asia represents over half our world. Japan proper has an area about equal to Montana, or a little less than California. Her dependency of Korea has an area about equal to Kansas or Minnesota.[5]

Japan is an island empire composed of four large islands and nearly 4,000 smaller ones raised from the

	Area Sq. Miles	*Population in 1919*
[5]Japan proper	147,655	60,000,000
Chosen, Korea	84,000	16,500,000
Other Dependencies	26,611	3,610,441
Total	258,266	80,110,441

ocean bed by volcanic activity. It is a mountainous country of exquisite beauty. As we neared the shore we saw the great Fujiyama, one of the most beautiful mountains in the world, with a snow-capped peak rising to a height of over 12,000 feet. Through the month of April, we found Japan one glory of pink cherry blossoms, and throughout all the seasons of the year there was no time when flowers were not an object of delight to this artistic and nature-loving people. While nature has lavished a wealth of beauty upon these islands, with their ever changing panorama of mountain and valley, of land and sea, man, on the other hand, has developed their artistic beauty. Second only to the Greeks in their capacity for decorative art, the Japanese have a love of nature and an appreciation of the beautiful more universal among all classes than can be found in any other people in the world.

But although Japan is a land of beauty, it is also a land of poverty. Only fourteen per cent of the total area of the country is under cultivation, and less than twenty per cent is capable of being tilled. The overcrowded population possesses only one-twentieth of the surface of the earth, and must find some outlet. Japan has but few undeveloped resources. She is poor in her supply of coal, poorer still in iron and most metals. A million people are living in the low East Side of Tokyo, subject to frequent inundations, and the submerged population forms one-tenth of

the whole. We passed through slums where in abject poverty, yet always in patience, with a courtesy and politeness that would put us to shame, these people are struggling to live on five to six dollars a month.

The character of the Japanese can be better understood if we recall for a moment their peculiar history, although those who are familiar with it will find this superfluous. Japan's history may be divided for convenience into three periods, ancient, medieval, and modern.

I. Ancient. The Patriarchal Period of the Clans. 600 B.C.-550 A.D.

II. Medieval. 550 A.D.-1853.
   1. Introduction of Buddhism and Continental Civilization. 552 A.D.
   2. Era of Feudalism and Civil Wars. 794–1638.
   3. Period of Isolation, under Tokugawa Shogunate. 1638–1853.

III. Modern.
   1. The Landing of Commodore Perry and Opening to Foreigners. 1853.
   2. The Era of Enlightenment under Restored Imperial Rule. 1868.
   3. Adoption of Constitution and Beginning of Industrial Era. 1889.

In the ancient period we find the warring tribes or clans gradually conquered by the house of

Yamato, as the head of the dominant tribe, until its leader finally becomes the Mikado. In this legendary or semi-historical period, we find the first emperor, Jimmu, ascending the throne in 660 B.C. Japan has had but a single dynasty for more than twenty-five centuries and the present emperor is the 124th in the direct line of descent or adoption. This has no parallel in history. In 552 A.D. Buddhism was introduced into Japan from Korea, bringing not only its religious ideas, but education, culture, arts, industries, literature, and a whole wealth of life to Japan, as Confucianism had brought in the moral code and culture of China.

Christianity was introduced into Japan by the great missionary to Asia, Francis Xavier, in 1549, and rapidly spread throughout the islands, until in the next century the Catholic community reached nearly half a million. The military Shogun Iyeyasu, angered at the political intrigues and quarrels of the Jesuits, and the struggles of rival leaders under cover of the cloak of Christianity, and fearing further foreign interference, finally issued an edict banishing the missionaries and prohibiting the foreign religion. Many were crucified at Nagasaki, scores of priests were killed and some 200,000 faithful Christians bravely laid down their lives. The Japanese Christians by their heroism, fortitude, and utter fearlessness repeated the glorious annals of the early persecutions of the Church in the catacombs of

Rome. Thus Christianity was banished in blood and from 1638 to 1853 Japan became the hermit nation of the world, forbidding all foreigners to enter and all Japanese to leave the country.

It was America which had the privilege of introducing Japan to the new world. When Perry broke the long silence of the centuries and dropped anchor in the harbor of Yedo near Tokyo, Japan looked upon all the rest of the world as "outer barbarians." Perry returned the following year and on March 31, 1854, a treaty of friendship was signed between the United States and Japan. His vessels were not only armed with guns but loaded with gifts and inventions from America to serve as object lessons of the achievements of Western civilization.[6]

Japan was now faced with the greatest problem of her history. Should she open her doors to the foreigners, and begin trade and intercourse with the modern world, or should she fight and maintain her isolated, medieval, feudal rule? The leaders of Japan were convulsed with the conflict over this tremendous issue, but with that sagacity and wisdom which have distinguished them ever since, the leaders revolutionized their policy and placed their country in the midst of the modern world. The com-

[6] Perry's gifts to the emperor included the electric telegraph, the steam locomotive and train, the telescope, life-boats, stoves, clocks, sewing-machines, agricultural implements and machinery, standard scales, weights, measures, maps, and charts. Griffis, "Life of Perry," p. 368.

pleteness with which Japan turned right about face and accepted the spirit of the new age was well nigh unparalleled in history. The military Shoguns, after an almost absolute rule of two and a half centuries, surrendered their power to the new emperor, then only fifteen years of age. The Daimyo, or feudal lords, yielded up their provincial power and pledged their loyalty in a new national patriotism which bound them to the throne. The boy emperor, Mutsuhito, backed by the leaders of the powerful clans, took the famous charter oath, and in 1868 the era of Meiji or "enlightened rule" was begun. The emperor promised representative government supported by public opinion, the development of the social welfare of the whole people, and political reform as practiced by the most enlightened nations.[7]

In accordance with the promises of the emperor, experts and advisors from every nation were called to Japan, and for thirty years more than 3,000 foreigners labored in the military, naval, financial, and political reconstruction of the empire. In 1859 the first Protestant missionaries entered the country and began their work of reform. Count Okuma, who was himself influenced by the great American educator Verbeck, the instructor of so many of the future leaders of the nation, often refers to the powerful

[7] Japan's birthday of freedom was on July 14, 1853, just sixty-four years after Bastille Day in France, July 14, 1789. She entered her era of enlightenment in 1868, eight years after the unification of Italy, and three years before that of Germany.

and pervasive influence of these makers of the new Japan.[8] As a result of this foreign intercourse, the nation progressed by leaps and bounds. Feudalism was abolished. The *Eta*, or outcasts, numbering more than 1,000,000, who had been counted as "animals," received the rank of citizenship as human beings and were enrolled among the population.

In the years following 1870, Japan built her first telegraph line, her first railway, the first system of lighthouses along her coasts; she inaugurated a modern postal system which was so rapidly developed that she enjoyed universal free delivery, postal savings banks, and a parcels post even before the United States. There soon followed the first newspapers, a modern mint, docks and ship yards, and the first educational law, which laid the foundation of free and compulsory primary education, until today Japan claims to have 98 per cent of her children under instruction. The edicts prohibiting Christianity were removed, and freedom in re-

[8] "Fortunately the missionaries and educators, whom the United States sent to Japan about this time, were all men of piety, moderation, and good sense, and their sincerity and kindness produced on the minds of our countrymen a profound impression . . . all these did immense service in introducing Japan to the rest of the world and in cultivating the minds of the Japanese people, and such work was mainly done by American residents in Japan. These circumstances completely changed our attitude towards Christianity." "Fifty Years of New Japan," by Count Okuma, pp. 91-92.

ligious worship, freedom of the press and speech followed, and the Christian calendar was adopted. Buddhism and Shinto were disestablished. The Bible was translated, and Christian schools and colleges were founded throughout the empire by missionaries from the West.

Probably no country in the world has ever made more rapid and remarkable advance than did Japan during the forty-five years of the reign of Meiji, the late emperor, from 1868 to 1912. During this single reign, the area of the country was increased seventy-five per cent; the population increased from 30,000,000 to 60,000,000; the revenue increased ten-fold, and the foreign trade more than forty-fold, from $13,120,000 to $550,000,000.

In the light of her past history and achievements, we may now better understand the character of her people. If we were to sum up the outstanding characteristics of the Japanese in a single sentence, we would say that they are intensely patriotic, practical, highly intelligent, ambitious, and imitative, with a capacity to adopt and adapt all that is best from other nations; they are enthusiastic, æsthetic with a passionate love for the beautiful, cheerful, light-hearted, courteous and polite, and above all progressive and open-minded to new ideas. No nation has made so many changes, has renounced so many old customs and institutions, or adopted so many new practices in the last generation as has

Japan. In moral character the Japanese are marked by strong loyalty, filial piety, and self-control. Bushido, or "the warrior's way," the code of knightly honor of the ancient Samurai or feudal soldiers of Japan, developed the qualities of courage, endurance, fortitude in suffering, absolute obedience, the suppression of all show of feeling, and loyalty. Buddhism developed their love of art, gentleness, pity, and the strain of pessimism and fatalism found among the people. Shinto taught cleanliness and simplicity.

Japan has been so busy appropriating the vast complex of an outward material civilization of the West that she has not so fully received or understood the spiritual and unseen, the heart and soul of Christian civilization. There is a vein of materialism still running through much of the modern civilization of Japan. It would be strange if this were not so. Her faults are sociological rather than biological, the temporary result of her environment rather than the essential or permanent characteristics of the people. Nearly all nations have found it easier to adopt first the outward or material; the inward or spiritual comes later and is more difficult. How rapid has been our own advance in material civilization; but how little we can boast, as we found in the first chapter, if we look at the inward and the spiritual, the social, moral, and religious aspects of our national life.

There is no country more misunderstood than Japan, and there is no country which America in particular more needs to understand. A thousand years of repressive Bushido and warring feudalism have made the Japanese necessarily reserved, sensitive, and suspicious, even towards one another. They are not by nature so open, frank, and friendly as the Chinese. But truth and fairness impel us to do them justice. It is frequently asserted in a sweeping generalization that the Chinese are honest and the Japanese are dishonest; and that they have to employ Chinese assistants for their banks because they cannot trust their own people. It would be difficult to make a more false statement. Yet this threadbare lie will doubtless be repeated in America for years to come.[9] Japan's military feudal *régime* developed the qualities of courage and loyalty rather than the commercial virtues of the Chinese guild system. In business, the Chinese early learned that honesty is the best policy. In their political life, however, the Japanese are far more honest than the Chinese and would compare favorably with Americans. Their municipal politics have rarely

[9] Chinese tellers were and are still used in foreign banks in Japan, whose head offices were in China. These tellers were expert in dealing with Chinese fractional currency and were experienced in the policy and methods of these foreign banks. But Japanese banks in Japan do not employ a single Chinese teller and they never needed to do so because of any lack of confidence in their own people.

sunk to the depths of the cesspools of Tammany Hall and the system of political rings, bosses, and graft of our own great cities.

When the writer was in inland China a bank was opened by the Japanese. Immediately there was a rush to deposit in it by the Chinese who knew their money would be safe there. The men of the best families in ancient Japan were warriors and scholars; all money making was despised and trade was left to the lower classes. Honesty is not so readily developed under a military *régime* as under a commercial system like that in China. But the best men of Japan are now throwing themselves into business and the professions, and the standard of commercial honesty is rapidly rising, and will compare favorably with that of other nations.

Japan was molded in her medieval life by three religions. *Shinto*, "the way of the gods," a simple combination of primitive nature and ancestor worship, has been developed into a national code of patriotism and emperor worship. *Confucianism* supplied Japan with a moral code as the finest flower and gift of China's civilization. *Buddhism*, with its religious hopes and fears, brought to Japan the choicest gift which India could give her in "The Light of Asia."

Her three ancient religions and the barren materialism of Western science all combined have failed to give Japan the great central truth and mighty

dynamic of life for the individual, the family, and the nation. All combined have not given her what the message of good news of Christianity alone can impart. The universal and loving fatherhood of one God; the mighty inclusive brotherhood of one humanity; the peace and blessing of abundant spiritual life; the personal purity, integrity, and unswerving honesty of moral righteousness; the reverence for women which creates true homes; the passion for social justice for the poor and oppressed, which come with true Christianity—this is what Japan needs and this is what we can share with her in the great principle of brotherhood. The leaders of modern Japan have always regarded religion as a means to some ulterior end. They have not yet produced a single profoundly religious statesman. Japan has not yet had a Gladstone, a Washington, or a Lincoln.

Nevertheless, the record of the progress of the dynamic principles of Christianity in this generation in Japan has been more significant, though less obvious, than her material advance. It is here that the idealism of America is needed. Let us mark the achievement and the record of modern Christian missions in one short generation. The number of missionaries has increased in the last fifty years from ten to 1428; the Christians from four to 213,819; while the Christian community of adherents is several times as large, and a leading Japanese estimates that "there are in Japan a million persons who are

fashioning their conduct according to the principles of Jesus Christ." The Sunday schools grew from nothing to an enrolment of 156,245. Fifty years ago there was no Japanese Bible available, today its circulation runs into the millions. There was then hardly an asylum or hospital in the land. Christianity has been the pioneer in establishing schools for girls, hospitals, refuges for the poor, the blind, the fatherless, the leper, the outcast, and the criminal. As Count Okuma says, "the direct influence of Christianity has poured into every realm of Japanese life."

Japan needs today a strong central Christian university adequately endowed. There is need of strengthening the Christian forces in their educational, evangelistic, medical, literary, and social service activities. Nothing but the truth will finally triumph in Japan and we believe that she will become ultimately a Christian country as surely as our own. Japan will yet share in the enlightenment and evangelization of Asia and will have her full part in Everybody's World.

VI

THE CRISIS IN CHINA

China appeals to the mind, the heart, the imagination. As we have come in contact with her people during recent months and moved through her toiling cities, we have been impressed anew with her vast magnitude, her great antiquity, her unmeasured resources, her immediate need, and her immense future possibilities.

China has an area twelve times that of Great Britain or seven times that of France. Her area represents a quarter of all Asia, and nearly one-twelfth of the world. Her teeming population is estimated at 400,000,000, or eight times that of Japan, nearly ten times that of Great Britain, and four times that of the United States. Approximately, of every four men in the world, one lives in China. And the destiny of nearly one-quarter of the human race matters profoundly in Everybody's World. As Abraham Lincoln said of the common people, God must love them because He made so many of them.

The Chinese are remarkable for their great antiquity. They are one of the three root races of the world. They formed the ancient "Middle Kingdom," when all around them were "outer barbarians." China was clad in silks and civilized

when our ancestors were little more than savages. Before the eighth century, she had reached her zenith in art, in literature, and in ancient industries, while Europe was in the Dark Ages.

China impresses us also with her great resources. As we journeyed through her inland provinces we saw rich veins of coal and iron jutting out at the very surface. We passed through the province of Shansi, where the German geologist, Baron von Richthofen, estimated that the coal in this province alone would furnish the world's supply for some centuries. In another province we passed a vein of coal now being mined at the surface, which runs from 100 to 170 feet in width, and is probably the widest vein known in the world. China has a fertile soil, well watered, with a network of canals and rivers that make the finest waterways in the world; she has a favorable climate in the temperate zone, and resembles America in her ability to maintain a large population both by agriculture and manufacture. The Far East will become one of the great trade centers of the world. All nations are vitally interested in its development.

In spite of her great magnitude, antiquity, and resources, China's immediate need is overwhelming. Plunged into the form of republican government before she had time for the preparation, education, and democratization necessary to stand the strain of modern life, China's position is most precarious.

She is in the midst of civil war between the north and the south. Swept by flood and famine, she has not had time to develop her vast resources before she was preyed upon as spoil for other nations. Unable to maintain law and order in the face of rising bandit armies from within, and menaced by dangerous and subtle foes without, her Government is today in danger of breaking down. Her ancient religions have not produced an official class sufficiently honest, fearless, patriotic, and progressive to save China in the present crisis.

To recall China's past, however, fills us with hope for her future. This ancient nation alone survives after witnessing the rise and fall of Nineveh and Babylon, Assyria and Persia, Greece and Rome, the Empire of Charlemagne and the mushroom growths of medieval Europe. China saw the Aryans entering India, civilization rising in Egypt, the Greeks under Alexander conquering the world, yet she survives them all. More than thirty-five centuries ago the civilization of China was advanced in her intellectual, social, and economic life, in writing, in the decimal system, and in engineering, irrigation, and canals. Two thousand years ago she possessed a rich literature, conducted competitive examinations, carried on commerce with Rome, and used cannon in warfare.

When Marco Polo visited China in the thirteenth century he found it far in advance of Europe in its

civilization. China had used gunpowder before the Christian era; she had used the compass centuries before our ancestors were civilized; she had discovered the art of printing from movable type five hundred years before Gutenberg at Mainz. Her porcelains and works of art were the admiration of the ancient world. To safeguard her ancient civilization she built the Great Wall across her northern boundary for 1,500 miles to shut out the barbarians, and erected nearly 1,700 walled cities throughout the empire.

We are impressed by the majestic march of this mighty people through forty long centuries. They have outlived twenty-four proud dynasties; they have survived the rule of their own autocrats and of foreign conquerors. We stand in reverence in their great ancestral halls, where our Chinese friends look back on an unbroken line for more than twenty centuries, and record the names of their ancestors for more than sixty-seven generations. If we agree with Hegel that the events that have taken place in history are essentially God's work, we must believe that He has some great providential purpose for this race, which like that of the Hebrews goes on forever.

China is impressive not only because of her size, her antiquity, her rich resources, and her present need, but because of her vast possibilities. Her chief wealth lies in the character of her people. She may

yet fulfil Napoleon's prophecy, "When China is moved, she will move the world." John Hay, declaring that the storm center of the world would pass from the Balkans to the Far East, said, "Whoever understands this mighty empire, socially, politically, economically, religiously, has the key to world politics for the next five centuries." The Chinese people are hardworking, industrious, frugal, law-abiding, orderly, and highly intelligent. They are obedient and courteous, peaceful and practical, loyal in their relationships. They are just, honest, naturally democratic, with no aristocracy of birth or wealth but only that of learning and ability. They are conservative, they honor character, they are adaptable, capable of thriving in any climate or under any conditions, and survive all other nations when brought in competition with them.[1]

The most striking characteristic of the Chinese people is their moral earnestness. Their courage and heroism were proved to the whole world during the Boxer uprising, when 16,000 of them forfeited their lives rather than deny their faith in Christ, offer incense to the gods, or trample upon a piece of paper bearing the symbol of the Cross. Probably Con-

[1] Sir Robert Hart, after forty years in China, wrote: "The Chinese are well behaved, law-abiding, intelligent, economical, and industrious. They can learn anything, and do anything. They are punctiliously polite, they worship talent, and they believe in right so firmly that they scorn to think that right requires to be supported or enforced by might. These are qualities not of isolated cases, but of the race as a whole."

fucianism has produced in them the highest moral character of any non-Christian nation in the world. Yet our recent visit convinces us that China in her Government and in some aspects of her civilization is breaking down under the strain of modern life, and that no non-Christian religion is adequate permanently to sustain a nation, and to furnish the constant stimulus to progress which will enable it to survive in the fierce competition of the modern world. The plain fact is that China today desperately needs Christian civilization and the moral leadership of Christian character, for all her religions of the past have failed her in this hour of crisis.

If we agree that civilization is the harmonious development of the entire life of a people, spiritually, morally, intellectually, socially, politically, and materially, then we find that in each of these phases China, especially in her Government, is in danger of breaking down under the strain of modern life.

We write in deepest friendship for China, with strong love for her great people, with confident hope for her future. But we can see only one solution in her present crisis. In the *spiritual* sphere, at the very heart and center of life, is to be found China's deepest need. Her ethical system has centered not in God as a personal Father, but in a self-centered "superior man." In large measure the spiritual and divine have been ignored. Starting from this false center, the *moral* maxims of Confucius have produced,

at best, a prudential morality, an enlightened and calculating self-interest, with the result that the whole life of the nation today is honeycombed with selfishness. The main cause of the present breakdown of China's political life is the lack of honesty and moral character on the part of her officials. This is not caused by any essential defect in the character of the Chinese people, but because of the false center of their materialistic system.

If we pass to the *intellectual* and educational sphere we find that China is among the most backward of all the great nations. Only sixty-four boys in a thousand and only three girls in a thousand are in school. Nine-tenths of the population cannot read and write. Although China has in theory adopted the modern methods of education, her present officials are so corrupt that they have failed to provide a satisfactory educational system. This also is due to no defect in the people themselves, as is demonstrated by their literary past and the record which Chinese students are making in other lands.

If we turn to her *social* life we find China's need even greater. As we visited her mills and factories, we saw the crying social needs of her womanhood, her childhood, and manhood, of the toiling masses of the great cities and the poor of the provinces. We have witnessed the sad sight of weary troops of children from twelve years of age and upward at five o'clock in the morning coming from the mills

after their long night's toil, and another plodding company coming to begin their day's work at dawn. *Politically*, China is under a dark cloud of misgovernment. Many of the leading Chinese feel that she now seems to be in danger of losing the priceless treasure of her independence.

If, last of all, we turn to the material and *economic* life of this great people, we find the same pathetic need. Roads and railways, mines and factories, trade and commerce, are alike undeveloped. In her material wealth China stands with India as the poorest of the great nations. In agriculture she is using the same plough, the same methods which were discarded by other nations centuries ago. Is it, then, too much to say that under the pressure of modern life, China seems to be in danger of breaking down in government, and is failing in her spiritual, moral, educational, social, political, and material life? Unquestionably there have been times of greater corruption during periods of transition at the fall of dynasties in China's past history. But then China was isolated, the "Middle Kingdom" in a medieval world, where she had leisure to work out her own salvation unmolested and apart. Today she finds herself in the fierce struggle for existence in the midst of the modern world, and she must set her own house in order to receive help from without.

As the most changeless nation of antiquity, and as the most conservative of all peoples, the Chinese

astonished the world in 1911 by a sudden and almost bloodless revolution, adopting a constitution, and proclaiming a republic. But China had not the foundation of a Christian civilization, of education, and trained moral leadership suddenly to stand the strain of democracy and the conduct of a successful republic. The sanctions of Confucianism had surrounded the people with such restrictions that they had learned to be honest in the family, the clan, and the guild. In business the Chinese were honest from policy rather than from conscience or character. The officials, however, underpaid, surrounded by a throng of hungry subordinates and burdensome relatives, inheriting the corrupt traditions of the Manchus, turned to "squeeze" and bribery as their traditional perquisite. The result is today that the officials of China are probably the most corrupt of any nation in the world. Some of them have been selling out the nation's treasures of coal and iron, and mortgaging her priceless resources to representatives of a foreign power. China is a loose agglomeration of family units, loyal to the family, but undeveloped in national consciousness, in patriotism, and in public service. Lawlessness is growing and bandits are increasing in many provinces. We found that armored cars were being run on the principal railway of China to protect the trains from the assaults of robber bands. Famine and flood have devastated the north. War and revolution have wasted

Central China in the conflict between the north and south. Under the soil lie undeveloped resources of mineral wealth, but above the soil her people toil in poverty and want, and China's progress is crippled and arrested.

During his last week in China the writer met the delegates who had come from the north and the south in an effort to make peace and end the Chinese Revolution before the European Peace Conference. We told the delegates that we believed there were four possible choices in the present crisis in China, and they agreed with us that these fairly represented the conditions:

1. China will now have one last chance to save the situation from within. This can be done only by reconciliation between the north and the south, by ending the widespread "squeeze," graft, and corruption now prevailing among the officials of China, and by doing away with the dangerous power of the military governors, who, with their provincial armies or undisciplined armed mobs, threaten the government and control policies for their own selfish ends.

2. If China cannot speedily put her house in order politically, and if conditions continue to grow worse, she must drift into bankruptcy, internal strife, and the breakdown of her own Government. This might result in the temporary or partial loss of her independence. She cannot possibly go on at the

present rate, for she is gradually losing control of law and order, of her economic resources, and her political autonomy.

3. If China does not end her dissensions and check the corruption of her officials, who are betraying her and selling out her interests, another power which has already secured valuable concessions of a large portion of her coal, iron, and mineral wealth, choice railway and commercial privileges and some of her territory, may endeavor to control China. This is not the fault of the people of this foreign nation, who as yet have little voice in the control of their own public affairs, but is due to the militaristic policy of the little clique of their oligarchic clan government, which has hitherto controlled the policy of that nation for their own national interests.

4. If China becomes bankrupt and cannot control her own situation, with this pressure brought to bear from without for exploitation, the League of Nations, or a group of powers, may feel forced to take over the finances and some regulation of the government, under an international control or receivership for a period of years. We found many of China's leaders themselves suggesting such a plan. This should never be permitted, however, except as a last resort. Foreign control is fraught with danger because of its selfish interests. But, on the other hand, no nation can go headlong to destruction

without being a menace to other nations as well. No nation can now live to itself alone. Bolshevism rampant in Russia is contagious for the rest of the world. Misgovernment in Mexico inevitably affects not only a few capitalists but nations as well. An unsanitary cesspool, breeding disease in the slums of a great city, affects the life and welfare of the entire community. And the misgovernment of one quarter of the human race vitally affects the other three quarters.

A temporary receivership would not end China's autonomy. Should this occur there would at once be a widespread awakening of patriotism in the nation, as among the Poles and other conquered peoples. Education and democracy would spread. No combination of powers would be able permanently to withhold China's autonomy from her. Someone has said that any power could take China if it provided 400,000,000 policemen to keep it. The Chinese are naturally democratic and liberty loving, and woe to the power that seeks selfishly to exploit them! The giant will one day be roused and will take back its own. Should an international control of China take place, even this situation would have its elements of hope. Under a stable and peaceful government, we would have time to train a sufficient number of strong Christian leaders to enable China to resume her independence and autonomy.

During the Peace Conference in Paris, the edu-

cated leaders in China were deeply stirred and indignant over the proposal that Japan should hold the German territory and concessions in Shantung Province. They felt that Japan had no more right to this territory than Britain had to the portion of Belgium which she had conquered from the Germans. On May 17, 1919, the students of Peking went on a complete strike in protest against the surrender of Shantung to the Japanese. On June 3rd these students went out in lecturing bands to all parts of the city to protest against this loss of Chinese autonomy. Ten or twelve students in each band carried a banner bearing the name of their institution. Crowds gathered to listen to the student orators. The traffic policemen were unable to disperse the crowds. As telephone calls came from all parts of the city from the helpless policemen, the cavalry was called out to break up the crowds; but as fast as the audiences were scattered, they reassembled about the lecturers who held their ground.

In the afternoon, the military forces were sent out to arrest the lecturers. As the jails of the city could not hold the students, the police took over the Law College of the Government University. Two hundred lecturers were soon arrested. On the next day, five hundred more students went out to lecture with the expectation of being arrested, carrying blankets and food ready to go to prison. As the

students were captured and brought in, they were cheering and shouting, "Long live the Republic," while an answering cheer came from those already arrested, "Long live the students." Nine hundred students were soon confined, but the student organization was prepared to send out five hundred new lecturers every day until all the students should be arrested.

On June 4th seven hundred women students marched to the President's Palace to present a petition on behalf of the men who had been arrested, and demanded the right to further the movement for the sale of home products against Japanese goods. Public sentiment was strongly with the students against the officials. By Thursday night, June 5th, the Government surrendered and withdrew the guards, but the students refused to leave their prisons. They demanded that they be granted the right of free speech, that the Government should apologize for having wrongfully arrested them, and that the students should have the right of making a demonstration throughout the city. This demand the officials were finally compelled to grant.

On June 8th the students marched in triumph through the city and placed their lecturing bands throughout Peking. The residences of the Chinese ministers who had favored Japan were attacked and looted. Finally these ministers resigned and the students had won. On June 29th the President re-

ceived a student delegation and assured them that China would not sign the Peace Treaty forfeiting her rights in Shantung. This is typical of the democratic spirit among the students of China after eight years of republican education. The student strikes and boycott of Japanese goods are the most potent political force in China at the present moment.

As in the case of Japan, two forces have been brought to bear upon China in the past: The material force of selfish exploitation, and the spiritual force of Christian missions and education. A review of China's checkered history under the play of these two forces compels our sympathy for this long-oppressed people. The Chinese are naturally peaceful, law-abiding, and friendly. They received with open-minded toleration the first missionaries of Buddhism from India, and of Nestorian Christianity from the Near East.

In the thirteenth century Marco Polo was royally received and made a governor of one of China's greatest cities. But with her intercourse with foreign nations China's troubles commenced. The invading Portuguese early in the sixteenth century began their nefarious policy of robbery and exploitation. Visit today their "Christian" settlement at Macao. It is degenerate and diseased, literally rotten with corruption. The chief sources of its revenue are the forbidden opium which it has poured into

China, the enormous income from its gambling dens, and the exploitation of commercialized vice. It is perhaps the most wicked and degraded community in the world, but it is maintained by foreign treaties, backed by the powerful gunboats of so-called Christian powers. Had it not been for these, China would have arisen long ago and swept it away in righteous indignation.

Early in the seventeenth century the Spaniards murdered some 20,000 of the Chinese in the Philippines. The Dutch taught the Chinese to mix opium with their tobacco about 1650 and later to smoke opium alone. For over a century China fought to keep from her shores this cursed drug which was poisoning her people. The French had seized Saigon and Cochin China, and later on Kwangchauwan. Russia had taken practically half a million square miles of Chinese territory. At Nirchinsk on the Amur River, some fifty Cossacks took 5,000 peaceful Chinese, a hundred at a time, drove them into the river at the point of the bayonet, and drowned them like rats. In 1898 Russia seized Port Arthur and Dalny. In the same year Germany, making an excuse of the death of two of her missionaries at the hands of a local mob, seized Tsingtao and the territory of Kiaochau, and pushed into the sacred province of Shantung, the birthplace of Confucius and the Holy Land of China. She seized railway and mining concessions and used them to open up a

dangerous avenue of approach which threatened Peking. China had lost to the British Hong Kong and Weihaiwei. Then she had to surrender Burma and Korea. She practically had lost her control of Manchuria, with its priceless forests and mines, and was threatened in Mongolia and Tibet. For seventy years China has been so selfishly exploited that she has not been allowed to fix her own tariffs, protect her infant industries, and develop her manufactures and mines. No wonder she began to speak of these outer barbarians as "foreign devils." Is it any wonder that the British writer Harold Gorst can say, "Rapine, murder, and a constant appeal to physical force chiefly characterize the commencement of Europe's commercial intercourse with China"? Money making, land-stealing, drink, enforced trade in opium, humiliating treaties, crooked commercial dealings, bullying, browbeating, and robbery have marked much of the selfish policy of the foreign powers. A democratic world will no longer permit such practices, and similar attempts in the future will be exposed and condemned before the bar of humanity.

During the last decade the Chinese people have dreaded Japan more than all other nations. The record of her twenty-one demands upon China "to keep the peace of the Far East," and of the dealings of her militarists in Manchuria, Shantung, and Peking, have filled the Chinese with alarm. It is

not too much to say that the Chinese feel that they have suffered more at the hands of Japan than all other nations combined.

America cannot stand apart in Pharisaic self-righteousness and point the finger of scorn at other nations. Her attitude toward the Chinese and other Orientals on the Pacific Coast has not been calculated to win their friendship. The immoral lives of many of her commercial representatives abroad have made it more difficult for the missionary to proclaim Christianity. The sharp practices of some of her business men have not compared favorably with the long established reliable British firms. We found the people in Shanghai perturbed over the proposed introduction of American breweries as they are driven out of the United States by "dry" laws. Meanwhile, the feeble and ineffective backing from Washington of America's ministers and consuls under successive administrations, both Republican and Democratic, has left our diplomats and representatives to eat their hearts out while China is exploited with amazing enterprise by others.

Nevertheless, because of her democratic policy, America holds today an enviable reputation in China and a unique opportunity to help her. During recent years she has been proclaimed as China's best and often her only friend. It was Abraham Lincoln's representative, Anson Burlingame, who in 1861 fought against the spoils system that was

then exploiting China, and so won the confidence of the Chinese that he was sent as their own representative to plead their cause in foreign courts. It was John Hay in 1899 who stood for the open door policy against the "spheres of influence" which were tending toward the partition and exploitation of China by foreign powers. It was America in 1900 that resisted the partition of China after the Boxer uprising, protested against the iniquitous indemnity that was forced upon her, and returned what was in excess of her own actual loss. It was America under Mr. Roosevelt that helped to exclude the Russo-Japanese War from China, and by the treaty of peace to restore Manchuria to her. It was America in 1907, through the Red Cross Society, that came to China's relief in her suffering from famine and flood. It was America which stood by China in her fight against opium, forbidding its importation to the Philippines, and promoting an international opium commission. It is to democratic America that China looks today. American missions have established more colleges, schools, hospitals, and institutions of relief and friendly ministry to China than have all other nations combined. It is America which holds no possession of China's territory, asks no control of her tariffs, no exploitation of her people, and stands in a position to help her today in her hour of desperate need.

Thus two forces have been for several centuries

and still are, being brought to bear on China, the one the force of selfish materialism, which has sought to exploit her, to keep her divided and helpless, and seize control of her economic and military resources; the other the force of humanity, of liberty, of democracy, of organized Christian effort, seeking to strengthen China, to raise up a new and loyal leadership from amongst her own people, to help her work out her own salvation, and utilize her vast resources for the enrichment, not of foreign powers, but of her own toiling millions.

The force of selfish materialism in China has been strengthened by the influence of her own early religions which have molded her life. By worshiping the dead past her progress was arrested and her life petrified.

Ancestor worship and Animism, or nature worship, have furnished the two sources of her native religions.

Buddhism, imported from India nearly nineteen centuries ago, has furnished the religious life of the masses.

Confucianism, the principal religion of China, especially of the educated classes, provided her ethical teaching. The ancient literature, practices, and moral maxims of China were codified and nationalized by her sage Confucius, who was probably the greatest conservative of the human race. An agnostic, so far as the spiritual, the unseen, or

the supernatural was concerned, he ignored God but gave to China her great moral code, which has been the foundation of her lasting character.

Taoism, the religion of the Tao, the way, or order of the universe, founded by the great philosopher Lao-tsze as a mystic system of philosophy, has degenerated into a corrupt pantheon of demons and deities, and has been unable to lift itself above gross idolatry, superstition, and polytheism.

There have also been several eclectic systems by which modern Chinese students have sought to find in Western science, in Japanese agnosticism, and in various systems of philosophy, ancient or modern, some substitute for their own decaying and impotent religions. But all alike have failed.[2]

One of China's leading patriots, a man who some day may be her national leader and democratic president, thus voices the need of the hour:

"The outlook for China is exceedingly dark and very seriously dangerous. The whole country is torn by factions. As a result of this internal strife there is really no spot in China which you may call safe, where life and property are adequately protected. What will happen to China I do not know; whether she will live as a nation I do not know.

[2] Dr. Faber points out that even Confucianism, which is ethically by far the best of Chinese religions, recognizes no relation of the common people to a personal God, takes no adequate account of sin, permits polygamy and polytheism, is without a mediator and without prayer, deifies human ancestors in the place of God, and offers no comfort either in life or in death.

We have to try to think of ourselves as at the throne of Christ; that God after all rules the world and that the destinies of all nations are in His hands. . . . We need Jesus Christ today because we need more light. There is utter darkness, and it is largely the ignorance of the people that has been the cause of all the great trouble in China. We need Christ because of the richer life which He brings; and I do not believe that richer life can come to China unless we have a penitent life with which to begin. The root of all evils in China is the love of self. The evils produced by such sins as concubinage, gambling, seeking power and wealth are largely due to selfishness and to the idea that man himself is the most important. Christ comes and teaches us to think in terms of God, in terms of humanity. This is the only hope, so far as I can see."

The whole history of China points to her imperative need of a truly Christian civilization. Under long centuries of foreign exploitation, however, China was slow to open her doors to the proclamation of the foreigner's religion and civilization. The combined foreign powers had struggled for twenty-five years, until the treaty of Peking in 1860, before China consented to receive foreign envoys in the capital, even as despised inferiors. For forty years more her scholars and officials resented the presence of the foreigner. When Robert Morrison sought to enter China a century ago, he was excluded by a chain cable at Canton. He was forbidden to preach in public, and only behind closed doors, in secret and

in danger, could he teach a few servants or inquirers. He was threatened, persecuted, and obstructed, beaten, driven out both from Canton and Macao, to labor for long years without a convert. After twenty-five years the little group of missionaries could not point to ten converts. After fifty years of Protestant effort, there were not a thousand Christians in China. The writer saw Mr. Graves in Canton, who told him that when he arrived in China, sixty years ago, there were not fifty Christians in the Chinese Empire, outside the single city of Amoy. But today, within the lifetime of a single missionary, we have gathered a Protestant community of half a million, and there are over a million more Roman Catholic and other Christians.

When the writer came out to Asia, just before 1900, China was approaching the reactionary Boxer uprising. When Dr. Mott visited China less than two decades ago, he was informed that not in his lifetime would he ever see the Chinese literati and officials listening to or receiving the message of Christianity. Peking, the capital, was a medieval city, stagnant and filthy. Men were sometimes drowned in the rainy season in the deep pools of mud and water in the main streets. To contrast with this the changes of a single decade, take for illustration our last two visits to that same capital city, the one in the opening and the other in the closing year of the War. As we entered the city

the President received us and expressed his interest in our meetings. The vice-president, General Li, gave a luncheon and permitted us to address his family and guests with the message of Christianity.

A decade and a half before, the Dowager Empress had sent out from the Forbidden City a decree to kill "the foreign devils" and sweep them into the sea. Now the officials had opened this very Forbidden City for our meetings. Four thousand students crowded the pavilion. On the third night as we spoke for over an hour on "Jesus Christ, the Only Hope for China," several hundred of these young men joined Christian Bible classes to study the life and teachings of Christ with open mind, and two hundred and fifty of these men were later baptized and received into the churches. A hundred Chinese newspapers freely printed the Christian addresses throughout China. Similar meetings were held in the provincial capital cities throughout the Republic. Of course such meetings were made possible only by the long century of patient missionary preparation that had preceded. They were the result of the united cooperation of the missionaries and Chinese Christians, standing on one common platform and presenting a united front.

Our recent visit to Peking convinces us that the doors of opportunity are wide open to the forces of moral righteousness, social service, and Christian civilization. On our arrival we had a meeting with

the returned Chinese students from America, appealing to them for moral leadership, and later a dinner with some two hundred Chinese officials, including four members of the President's cabinet, several generals of the northern army, the leaders of China's national banks and railways, and the officials of the departments of Foreign Affairs, Education, Agriculture, Trade, and Commerce. We spoke to them frankly of the imminent danger in which China is standing today, and of the one hope of national reform. On the third day we began a series of meetings in four sections of the city, working with the leading denominations to reach the higher classes of non-Christian students and officials in Peking. At the Presbyterian Mission the audience was composed largely of Manchus. During the two days following the meetings were attended by 1,000 men each night in the Congregational Church. These men sat for two hours each evening listening to two addresses. A break between the meetings enabled several hundred Christian workers to deal personally with their non-Christian friends and help to lead them to an intelligent decision. A third series of meetings was held in the Methodist Church, with 1,200 picked men in attendance. The final series, which was held under the auspices of the Anglican and London Missions, was also fruitful. In fact there was not a single night that a number of non-Christians did not make the final decision to enter the

Christian life. Following the meetings in Peking three years ago an average of 600 non-Christian students and other men attended Christian Bible classes for two years, and more than 250 of these men were baptized and received into the churches. A larger number will join the churches this year, as the work being done by the Christians themselves has been incomparably stronger. The meetings indeed have only been an incident in what we believe is a great, growing indigenous movement in the Christian churches of China.

In addition to the meetings held in the churches of the city, we had time to visit some of the colleges. At Tsing Hua, the American Indemnity College, where more than 500 Chinese students are being trained to enter the universities of America, a number of students decided for the Christian life. Twenty-nine of them were later baptized in a single church. On another day we had the privilege of addressing the students of the great normal college where 1,500 of China's future teachers are being trained for educational leadership in all parts of this great republic. On the closing day some 200 officials gave us a parting reception and we were again able to present the claims of Jesus Christ as the hope of China. On all sides China's ancient temples and altars, her city walls and palaces are showing signs of decrepitude and decay. The old order is dying, but a new life is being born in the

heart of this ancient nation. China's temples may fall, her altars may crumble, the outward form of her government may change, but the Chinese people will endure. This present hour is the darkest politically but the brightest religiously that this nation has ever known. Her very humiliation has broken down the age-long conservatism and exclusion of her past self-sufficiency. The hour of her desperate extremity is our opportunity.

Today, with the sanction of the Government in Peking, the missionaries have taken up the new phonetic alphabet of thirty-nine letters, which will in time for the common people take the place of China's classic literature with its 45,000 characters. Instead of taking long years of effort for a few proud scholars to master these complicated hieroglyphs, an educated man may learn this alphabet in an hour, or a child or coolie may begin to read in a week. The introduction of this phonetic alphabet may mean as much for the literature of China as did the translation of the Bible into English by Wyclif, which left Latin as the dead language of the past for the scholar and the antiquarian. Deliberately the Christian missions in China are now undertaking to teach her millions to read and to spread the mighty force of modern education through the land.

China's moral earnestness was shown recently by the official action of the Government which bought and destroyed 1,200 chests of opium, worth more

than its weight in silver, or more than $10,000 a chest. Four organizations were selected to burn this cursed drug, the Chamber of Commerce, the Young Men's Christian Association, and two others.

During the recent United War Work Campaign the new spirit was manifest. Dr. Mott had cabled out asking if China could, in the midst of her own war and famine, generously contribute $100,000 for war work among the Allied soldiers, including the Chinese labor battalions. The first city to take up Dr. Mott's request was Tientsin. Their share of the $100,000 was $10,000. While the Europeans were meeting to consider how they could possibly raise this large sum of money in the community, a Chinese gentleman walked in and said: "We do not know what you Europeans propose to do, but we Chinese have just held a meeting and decided upon our share of this fund. The Provincial Parliament has decided to vote $100,000, the Chinese merchants of this city will give another $100,000, and you Europeans can give what you wish in addition." They made good their pledge of over $200,000 gold in the first city, or twenty times their quota, when the nation as a whole was only asked for half that amount. Peking took the matter up with great enthusiasm, the President, the Cabinet, the Parliament, officials, business men, and students vying with one another to contribute. More than 25,000 persons in the city gave to the fund. In their

enthusiasm, 16,000 students marched throughout the city, six abreast in a line which extended for several miles. In a few days, instead of the $100,000 requested, China had cabled over $1,000,000 gold as her contribution.

The last day the writer spent ashore in the old city of Nanking seemed to visualize and make concrete both the terrible need and the splendid opportunity presented by China in her present crisis. We stood there upon the old Drum Tower, built about the time Columbus discovered America, and looked out over the ancient and massive wall which circles the city for more than twenty miles in circumference. This wall is from thirty to ninety feet in height and broad enough in some places for two automobiles to pass one another on its summit. There in the distance are the crumbling remains of the ancient examination halls that mark the passing of China's classic system of education. Just opposite is the fine modern building of the Normal School where an athletic meet is being held, with 5,000 modern students taking part. Beyond the city wall rises Purple Mountain, where Chinese Gordon captured the city from the Taiping rebels.

We had come to Nanking to see two important men. We were met at the station by the first of these, a Chinese official, the Assistant Commissioner of Police, Mr. Wang. During the meetings last year the Chinese business men, officials, and students

filled the large hall. In the front were some thirty of the leading officials of the province. Mr. Wang was the strongest character among them. On the last day he left the Confucian officials and came to the platform as the Christian chairman of the meeting. He rose and boldly stated to the whole audience that he had decided to become a Christian. He said he had hoped the Revolution and the Republic would save China and solve her problems, but conditions seemed only to grow worse. He himself was convinced that Christianity was the only hope of saving the country. Over a hundred non-Christians in this meeting decided that they would follow his example. Mr. Wang is now to enter the Christian Church. He is known today as an honest official making a fight for righteousness, for social justice, and political honesty.

The second man we had come to see was Mr. Wen, the governor's advisor on foreign affairs. The record of this man is typical both of the need of China's officials and the influence of Christianity upon them. We saw him first eight years ago as he made the journey from Hangchow to Shanghai to meet Dr. Mott and myself in order to ask for a Young Men's Christian Association building for his city. Long trained in the moral maxims and prudential morality of Confucius, he firmly believed in moral character in theory, and in practice—for others. He was convinced that they needed the benefits of such a Christian

institution for the young men of the nation. As he boldly confessed later in public, he had himself, however, been taking the traditional bribes as an official, and was living a sensual life.

During the opening year of the war when the writer visited Hangchow, 2,000 Confucian students crowded the great theater and 2,000 others were waiting outside to gain admission to hear the Christian address repeated each day. The military governor on the third day invited us to a banquet with the officials of the province, after which he asked us to address them. At the close of the banquet the writer said to Mr. Wen, "Nineteen centuries ago one told this same message of good news to an Ethiopian official like yourself, who said, 'What doth hinder me to be baptized?' Why should not you also become a Christian today, and try to lead your province out into the light of Christian civilization?" Mr. Wen replied, "Christianity is the true religion. Some day I hope to resign from public office, and retire to a private life of meditation and become a Christian. If I did so now I might lose my office." We replied, "China needs men who can rise above the corruption and impurity of public life and save this tottering republic. This is the decisive decade of China's history. If you believe in Christianity as the true religion, will you not become a Christian now while it is so needed and so hard?" Instantly the man replied, "I will."

That night he stayed up until midnight explaining Christianity to the young governor, who dared not take the step himself. The next day Mr. Wen rose before a whole theater full of students and boldly told them he had decided to become a Christian. The next Sunday he went down and asked to be publicly admitted to the church and made his confession before them. At the time of his baptism he said, "I may lose my official position, and I may be put out of office. But I take my stand today for Jesus Christ in this church, believing that only by organized Christianity, only by the Church of Christ, can we save China. A thousand of our students in the theater this week have promised to join Bible classes and study the life of Christ. I wish to lead them into the Church, and I cannot ask them to enter if I do not do so myself." For four years this man has consistently lived a Christian life in the full glare of public scrutiny. The writer recently heard him stand fearlessly before an audience of students and officials and confess how as an official he had been addicted to bribery, lust, gambling, and drink, and how by the mighty dynamic power of the living God, through Jesus Christ as a personal Saviour, he had found deliverance from the sins which bound him and were dragging China down to her ruin. He boldly proclaimed the power of pure and vital Christianity to save the individual, transform society, and uplift the nation. He pleaded with

Chinese leaders to base their national life upon this only lasting foundation.

Upon visiting China this year we went to see this man to ask him to make one more great sacrifice. As he sat there, clad in costly silks and furs valued at several hundred dollars, we asked him if he would leave official life, forego his large salary, his chance of promotion and a possible governorship, and enter Christian work. With splendid courage he accepted the call, and together we went to the governor to ask for his release. After an hour's conversation on the present crisis in China the governor consented to release him. Such a man as Mr. Wen epitomizes in his own person the transformation which alone can save China. He stands today as a moral miracle, converted as truly as the profligate St. Augustine or the wild St. Francis of Assisi. What other power can transform China's officials, educate her illiterate masses, and bring her to her proper place in the world?

As we left Nanking we had the privilege of addressing a meeting of Chinese Christians gathered from all denominations. That week the Christians and missionaries of that city were uniting in a federation or union of all the churches. They propose to have one common name, and one central executive committee in control, which shall have charge of locating churches, missionaries, and Chinese workers wherever they are needed. This will do away with all denominational names and competition, rivalry,

waste, and overlapping. The Christian Church here in the heart of China will present a united front to the world. The practical Chinese Christians have little enthusiasm or sympathy for our denominational differences propagated from the West. Yet that week a secretary of a mission board in the south of the United States told the representatives of his denomination that they could not consistently receive money from the society at home if they fraternized or cooperated with the Christians or missionaries of other denominations. Thank God he was an exception. May his tribe not increase. The same week the Chinese Christians of all denominations in Nanking were meeting to unite in one federation. Cannot the laymen and ministers of America follow the example of these Chinese Christians?

Three forces can be brought to bear on China for her advancement. Honest business will open up channels of trade, commerce, and international intercourse. Western scientific education can sweep away her ignorance, and alleviate much of her poverty, misery, and human suffering. The third and greatest of these forces is the dynamic of Christian missions. China's new day dawns when Robert Morrison steps ashore amid the toil and poverty and abysmal ignorance of Canton. He founds a little Christian church which generates a new type of character, with a capacity for moral

leadership. He opens a mission press and floods China with the message of liberty and light. He starts a Christian hospital, and later Peter Parker and others open China at the point of the lancet, and break down her prejudices by practical Christian helpfulness. Today the Rockefeller Foundation is turning out a body of skilful surgeons and doctors who will revolutionize China's archaic medical malpractice. Morrison opened a school which became in time a college, and today missionary institutions are training the coming leaders, officials, railway builders, enterprising business men, lawyers, doctors, ministers, and social service experts, who will yet make China one of the great Christian nations of the world.

At the united call of the Christian churches, as the agent and instrument of them all, the Young Men's Christian Association has entered with its multiplied points of contact, its friendly avenues of approach, and its practical contribution to the national life of China. The triangle is a symbol of China's threefold need.

First, there is the pressing, obvious physical need of the nation. In several of the capital cities a modern Association building has been erected with a gymnasium and athletic field. An Anti-Tuberculosis League soon follows, and lectures on sanitation, hygiene, and health, so sorely needed in this nation, for the officials, students, and leaders of China.

The second side of the triangle stands for China's intellectual need. Every Association building is built to accommodate a day and night school. From several hundred to a thousand students crowd in, eager for modern education. The library and reading room and a continual series of modern lectures are factors in the new civilization. By its science lectures the Young Men's Christian Association seeks to teach Chinese leaders to develop their vast resources unselfishly and efficiently for the enrichment of their own toiling masses.

At the top of the triangle there is the moral and spiritual side of the work. The young manhood of the nation is seeking to make the transition from the medieval to the modern world. The sanctions of Confucianism and the superstitions of the past are breaking down. Young men are following the example of Japan, of France after the French Revolution, and of the materialistic West, and are plunging into license, immorality, and agnosticism. China now desperately needs new foundations for her individual, social, and national life. All the systems of the past have failed her. She has steadily grown weaker. The hope of China lies in raising up an educated, moral, Christian leadership to develop her resources, educate her illiterate millions, rule her toiling masses, and make them free citizens in Everybody's World. Shall we help China in this crisis or leave her to her fate?

VII

THE AWAKENING OF INDIA

We are writing on the sultry plains of South India. It is August in the tropics, near the equator. A long journey of six months in the throbbing heat of this land convinces us that we are facing a new India. In fact we have found India one of the storm centers of the new world emerging out of the War. Here the sharp conflict between East and West, ancient and modern, autocracy and democracy, is at its height. In India we have the most typically Oriental nation caught in the conflict between the new ideals and the old, and seething with new currents of thought and life. India, China, and Russia are the three largest nations in the throes of this upheaval. The recent movement in Russia has been revolutionary and destructive; in India the movement has been for the most part evolutionary and constructive under the strong hand of British rule.

India! Land of mystery and paradox, she still casts over us her ancient spell. This land with its pearl fisheries, the diamond mines of Golconda, "the wealth of Ind," the desire of the nations, the prize of conquest, the goal of explorers, the quest of Columbus when he was deflected by the discovery of America, the land of a hundred invasions and a

thousand wars, the land of philosophy, art, and religion, grips the heart and challenges the imagination. *India!* The word is filled with a content more vast and various than that of any other nation. We have just come down across this great subcontinent of Southern Asia in a journey of two thousand miles from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. We stood there at that highest barrier on earth, the titanic Himalayas, ever covered with ten thousand feet of eternal snow, on the crest of their rocky summits, and looked out toward one great valley in which could be placed the whole of Switzerland, whose loftiest peaks would be lost to view fifteen thousand feet below the Himalayan ridge.

Leaving the mighty snow barrier that separates India from the rest of Asia, we crossed the vast level plain of the North, watered by two of the world's greatest rivers, and peopled by teeming villages and populous cities—Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow, Allahabad, Benares; and Agra with its priceless Taj Mahal, the most beautiful building in the world, a mountain of marble carved into lace, telling of the glory of the great Mughals, and of the loyalty and devotion of one of the greatest of them to his wife. We have passed from the wide plains of the North, through the tropical verdure of the South, among the green rice fields, under the palms and pepper vines of fields that lie level to the foot of the blue hills, with their dense forests and elephant and

tiger jungles. We have drifted down the backwaters of dreamy Travancore, overarched with fronded palms, under the hills rich with plantations of rubber, cocoa, tea and coffee, spices, and various tropical fruits.

As we have again journeyed through this great land we have been impressed by the fact that India is colossal and continental. We have passed through most of her fourteen provinces, and many of her 675 native states. In China prevailingly we found the simple, solid fact of Confucianism, but in India we have been dealing with men representing eight of the world's great religions and many minor faiths: Hindus, Muhammadans, Buddhists, Sikhs, Jains, Parsees, Jews, Animists, and Christians. We have passed through populations separated in speech by 147 different languages. We have been staggered by the problem of 2,000 different castes, prison cells which have barred progress, forbidding men to intermarry or to dine with men of other castes, and placing sixty million "Untouchables" beyond the pale of humanity. Yet India today, despite all these handicaps and divisions, through the difficult medium of a foreign tongue, under her own leadership is being born a new nation with a new national consciousness. Although she is divided and subdivided into sharper antagonisms of race, rank, and religion, of caste, creed, and color, than any other nation in the world, yet she is being forged

into one burning unit of national aspiration so far as her leaders are concerned. Educated leaders today are joining hands in a growing demand for home rule, with the cry, "India for the Indians." Since the War the tide of democracy has been sweeping around the world. It has been affecting the misguided Bolshevism of Russia, the nationalism of Ireland, of Egypt, Korea, the Philippines, China, and many other lands. This tide of democracy is sweeping over the continent of India today.

The sources of this new movement are found in a strange combination of the ancient and modern, the Oriental and Occidental, in the action and reaction of two civilizations. On the one hand the War has awakened a yet deeper national pride in her own ancient heritage, while on the other, it has led her to claim her full share in the liberty, equality, and fraternity of modern democracy. The union of these two elements furnishes the unique interest of modern India.

The nation has been stabbed wide awake by the War. Japan's victory over Russia awoke educated India; the World War wakened even rural India. A million of her sons were drawn from the villages, a million men were writing letters home with their new ideas gained in France, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Africa; a million, less the fallen, returned cherishing the glories of the War and awakened hopes of a new India! A million men are a force to reckon with.

They could almost quicken the three-quarters of a million villages of rural India.

A new glory is burning in India's heart, a new pride in her soldiers who fought the world's most formidable army. An old memory is rekindled of her ancient past, in the golden age of her own heroes, a pride of race that gathers in its new-born patriotism the thought of three thousand years of high civilization, from the Aryan conquerors down the long line of rulers and philosophers, from the great Asoka and Akbar to her modern heroes. She, like other nations, has not been backward in giving full credit to her own sons and in believing that they won the War. There are signs on every hand, as we travel through this land today, of a vast awakening of this conservative fifth of the human race, permeating from the leaders to the masses, from the cities to the towns and villages—an awakening political, economic, social, and religious, destined to regenerate India as a united nation.

Politically, India is making the eternal demands of democracy in the press, on the platform, in political conventions and conferences, in private conversations, in railway carriages and from the house tops. She is asking for liberty, equality, and fraternity. She is asking for self government, and many want it at once. *Economically* the War has shown the British and Indians alike her dependence, isolation, and need of an industrial and commercial

reorganization. The program proposed by the Industrial Commission will mean an industrial awakening for India. *Socially*, the leaven of discontent, of reform, and of social revolution is working. The political movement is affecting the social fabric and wide-sweeping changes have begun. *Religiously*, the dynamic ideas of monotheism, of the divine Fatherhood, of a new united human brotherhood, of the service of love leading to a cross of self-sacrifice and renunciation, and of the principles of the Sermon on the Mount are working powerfully in all religions and in all communities, with or without the Christian name, and vitally affecting and changing life. India is rising to take her rightful place in Everybody's World.

The full glare of a new day of national consciousness seems to have broken suddenly upon sleeping India, but that day was preceded by long night and lingering dawn. Four dates mark the sources of India's new national life: 1834, 1858, 1905, 1917. In 1834 Lord Macaulay's Educational Minute gave India Western education; in 1858, Queen Victoria's Proclamation gave the promise of religious freedom to all alike and an increasing share in the government for the Indian people; in 1905, Japan's victory over Russia thrilled the entire Orient with new national hopes; and on August 20, 1917, came the pronouncement, called forth in part by the War and the unrest in India, of the Government's new policy

of reform and responsible government by the people of India.

Each of these dates marked the opening of a new era. In 1834, Lord Macaulay in his famous Educational Minute decreed that India, through the medium of English education, should receive the science and civilization of the West. His words were prophetic of a new spirit of responsibility and unselfish service for India's future welfare.[1]

In 1858, following the Mutiny, when India was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown, the ideal purpose of British rule was reasserted in the Queen's Proclamation, which acknowledges that the government is a trust for the welfare of the people.[2]

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[1] "Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? Or do we think that we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition? . . . I have no fears. The path of duty is plain before us: . . . It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. . . . *Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history.* . . . The sceptre may pass away from us . . . But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverse. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws."

[2] "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all other subjects; and these obligations by the blessings of Almighty God

In 1905 Japan had conquered Russia, one of the smaller Asiatic nations had crushed the Colossus of Europe, the dread of the supposedly invincible West. A powerful Asiatic nation had been born in a day. With the swiftness and shock of an electric current the thought flashed through the mind in the Orient, "Why should not we do what Japan has done?" This was the spark that fired the imagination of India and set Asia ablaze. China at once began the reforms that led to a republic, the Shah of Persia called a national council, even the Amir of Afghanistan summoned a "consultative assembly." Japan had awakened the self-respect of all Eastern peoples.

The positive stimulus to India of Japan's victory was met by the negative and repressive force of Lord Curzon's *régime*. His crucial act was the partition of Bengal, which the Indians claimed was to break the back of the opposition of that province to the Government. This "set Bengal in a blaze" and bound India more closely together in national consciousness. The country was soon swept by

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we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfill. Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. . . . It is further our will that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity to discharge."

violent agitation followed by attempts at assassination. The cry of "*swaraj*" or "home rule," was raised, and that of "*swadeshi*" or "home industries" was followed by a boycott of British goods. Fifteen thousand Chinese students and a smaller but equally enthusiastic band of Indians had poured into Japan to learn her secret of success. Feverish attempts were made to start Indian manufactures on modern lines, but many of them ended in failure through want of experience.

To meet this rising tide of sedition Lord Curzon's successor, Lord Minto, with Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India, framed the Morley-Minto reforms of 1908. The purpose of the reforms was not to bring about self-government, but to add Indian advisors, to enlarge the legislative councils, and to extend their functions so as to "effectively associate the people of India with the government in every-day administration." The promise of these reforms for a time aroused high hopes in the Indian leaders, but these hopes were dashed to the ground and gave place to sullen disappointment when it was seen how the plan worked in practice. The enlarged councils, which it was hoped might become miniature parliaments, became mere academic bodies for debate and voiced the increasing dissatisfaction of the people. They aroused aspirations which they could not satisfy, they gave opportunity only for unlimited criticism, offering no responsibility and little train-

ing in self-government. Faced by a rising tide of irresponsible criticism, the Government became timid, and the people became restless and dissatisfied. India was drifting toward a precipice.[3]

This feeling of discontent culminated during the War. India had raised over a million men. She felt that her princes had given liberally and her soldiers had fought gallantly. The papers were filled with the reports of the exploits of her brave soldiers at the front, who were holding their own against the most highly trained soldiers of Europe, driving the Turks from Mesopotamia and the Germans from East Africa, holding Egypt, and guarding the Suez Canal. Probably each nation exaggerated its own contribution. But certainly the War intensified India's sense of nationhood. If you asked a soldier in France who he was, he no longer was the provincial Punjabi, or Maratha. "I

[3] Educated Indians began to ask: "Why is not India a self-governing member of the British Empire on an equality with the Dominions? Why is she not allowed fiscal autonomy and a protective tariff to develop her backward industries instead of being regarded as a profitable market for British goods? Why are not Indians allowed to carry arms? Why are they excluded from the commissioned ranks of the army? What is the cause of the discrimination of the Dominions against Indians in their immigration rules? Why are nearly all the higher and lucrative positions in government held by Europeans? Why have we not had compulsory primary education, when after sixty years of educational effort only six per cent of the population is literate, and less than four per cent of the total population is under instruction?"

am an Indian," was his proud response, and the new national feeling was reechoed throughout India.

Through the War thousands took a new interest in public affairs. The returning Sepoys, the platform orators, the widening influence of the press, and the news that finally reached and aroused the villagers around the evening fires, began to awaken even the masses. The leaders believed that surely India's rightful place in the Empire would be hers after the War. The speeches of President Wilson were eagerly devoured as he championed the cause of backward nations and upheld the principle of self-determination. On September 1, 1916, a Home Rule League was formed in Madras, and Mrs. Besant and other political leaders made India ring from end to end with the demand for self-government. Mrs. Besant was arrested and interned, but upon her release she was eagerly received by the people. Soon afterwards the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League drew up a joint proposal aiming at self-government, and the long divided Hindu and Muhammadan communities joined hands in the common cause of home rule.

The government of the vast, uneducated, heterogeneous population of India is, at best, one of the most difficult tasks on earth. The War precipitated for Great Britain one of the greatest problems ever faced in the government of one country by another.

The educated leaders who were demanding home rule represented only five per cent of the population, knowledge of English was confined to two million, or not one in a hundred of that population, only six per cent could meet the test of literacy, while ninety per cent of the people were living in the villages, occupied for the most part with the fierce struggle for subsistence, and caring nothing for politics or government. Yet the educated leaders were now beginning successfully to arouse the masses, especially in the cities. Strikes and boycotts proved possible of manipulation. The end of the War had not brought the immediate advance toward home rule for which India had fondly hoped, and this gave opportunity for nationalist leaders to fan popular discontent into a flame.

As we traveled from Ceylon to the North we found that political conferences were being called by the people in all parts of the country. Caste organizations everywhere were assembling for political purposes. The Muslims also were restless. They had resented Italy's war on Turkey; the Balkan wars had seemed to them to represent the Cross against the Crescent; and then the final fall of Turkey and Egypt as the last stronghold of Islam, the loss of Mesopotamia and Palestine and the threatening of their holy places were used by agitators to rouse them to a *Jihad* or Holy War. But India as a whole stood loyal throughout the struggle, and none more

so than those fighting against their fellow-Muslims in Mesopotamia and Palestine.

In the south the Home Rule League was led by the Brahmins, ever alert, subtle, and able. But home rule meant Brahmin rule and the long-suffering lower castes much preferred a foreign but just British control to their ancient tyranny. Accordingly the Non-Brahmin League was formed, attempting to unite all the other castes in the common cause of democracy. They asked full representation under British control rather than caste rule. The Panchamas, or outcastes, also began to assemble and to assert their rights. High caste or low caste, farmers came on foot and by train to attend these political conferences and we found a new spirit abroad even in the country districts. On the day we left the south of India a great caste conference of the Nadars was in progress with its elephant processions, bands, speeches, and convention. This caste, long shut out from the temples of Hinduism, has been forging forward in education, in wealth, and in social and religious reform, by its indomitable energy and latent ability. It has furnished some of the greatest Christian leaders and will play a part in the responsible government of the new India.

A social awakening has followed the political awakening. Desiring self-government, India now realizes how hopelessly she is divided. She sees her ranks separated by caste and conflicting religious

creeds. She realizes as never before the hard lot of the long oppressed outcastes, crushed by the laws of her own sacred books. She sees the evils of child marriage in its weakening of the race, and the sad fate of her child widows. She is forced to face the need of uplifting her womanhood, educating and safeguarding her childhood, and instituting a hundred reforms that Christian missions have long advocated. The whole caste system of India is being gradually affected, as the walls of her decaying temples are cracked and broken by the trees that sprout and grow from the tiny seeds dropped into the crevices. Democracy at last is permeating even caste-ridden India.

Pariahs and outcastes are in many parts for the first time being admitted to public meetings, to the use of public wells, and to political office. Their political support is now sought by various parties. The practice of interdining is spreading throughout the cities and towns. While we were in Madura the high caste leaders of the Non-Brahmin movement gave a dinner to a score of us foreigners, disregarding the rules of their caste.

The Madras, Travancore, and Mysore governments have now opened the public schools to all outcastes. For the first time the depressed classes are represented as equals in the Legislative Councils. Women, who have taken a leading part in war work, are now demanding woman suffrage, and have a

place on the programme in political meetings. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the poetess, with other Indian ladies has come forward as a prominent and powerful political agitator.

Strikes are spreading rapidly. Beginning in the unorganized uprising of the workers in Bombay, labor unions are being formed, and the movement has extended to all parts of India. This can only end in improving the miserable and inhuman conditions under which labor in India is often forced to toil. The hundreds per cent profits of the owners of some cotton and jute mills during the War have stood out in glaring contrast to the pathetic fight for subsistence of their neglected employes, and even the conscience of India has been aroused.

All the elements of the economic strain and political tension after the War were used by a small party of hidden agitators to arouse a deeper unrest. To meet this situation Judge Rowlatt was sent from England to investigate the laws dealing with sedition. Upon his recommendation the Government introduced two bills giving to the executive drastic powers in seditious provinces. Probably the Government knew more reasons for such legislation than it was able to make public. But these Rowlatt Bills produced an extraordinary effect. Instead of the immediate reward for their loyalty in the War which the people had eagerly expected, they were met by what seemed to them autocratic, repressive legisla-

tion. In an indignant press, on a thousand platforms, India flamed out again as she had over the partition of Bengal. Nationalists and moderates, Hindus, Muhammadans, and Christians alike were united against these Rowlatt Bills. In the face of the solid protest of the Indian members in the Viceroy's Legislative Council the first Bill was hurriedly passed. Some months have elapsed and no occasion has arisen for the exercise of the acts. They were apparently a tactical blunder.

As one result of the passage of these acts, uprisings took place in various parts of the North. As we have traveled about India we have not known what a day might bring forth and some members of our party were at times in personal danger. Under the influence of the national leader, Mr. Gandhi, with his movement of passive resistance against the Rowlatt Bills, the shopkeepers in Delhi were persuaded to close their shops, and traffic was forcibly interrupted. When the soldiers tried to enforce order, riots ensued and many persons were killed. The uprising in Delhi, the ancient capital of India, kindled the other cities. In Lahore, where we had just been holding meetings, colleges were closed, students went on strike and marched in procession through the streets. Meetings of protest were broken up by the police. On the evening of the arrest of Mr. Gandhi a menacing mob was formed and rushed shouting towards the European section

of the city. When the police ordered them to halt they still surged on, and upon passing the forbidden line they were stopped by rifle fire. Ten students were killed and many others were wounded. In protest against this use of force, the Hindus and Muhammadans met together in the great mosque. The people assumed a threatening attitude, shops were closed, and martial law was proclaimed by Government.

In Amritsar mobs looted and burnt the foreign banks, and five Europeans were killed and others injured. The Indian Sepoys fired upon the mob, and it is reported that over a thousand people were killed. Railway trains were attacked or wrecked, telegraph lines were cut, travelers were assaulted, and North India was aflame with excitement. British and Indian troops were used to restore order. Indians in other parts of the country bitterly protested against this use of force. Rabindranath Tagore, the poet, and one or two others renounced their English titles. Order has now been restored but it has left the people of the cities sullen, bitter, and distrustful of the Government. They are pessimistic after the reaction following the War.

An impartial spectator cannot help seeing the tragedy of the situation. On the one hand we cannot fail to sympathize with the natural, the inevitable aspirations for freedom and self-government of such a great people. On the other hand,

one cannot be blind to India's present unpreparedness for such government. One must recognize sympathetically both the aspirations of India and the tremendous difficulties of the British Government. With all its faults, as the mind travels over history one cannot recall a single instance of the government of one people by another where the task undertaken was so titanic or where it was more nobly fulfilled. We do not except the Philippines nor any other colony or country.

Perhaps we can better understand this political movement if we pause to glance at the leader who embodies it and sums it up, the reformer and patriot, Mr. Mohandas Gandhi. He will enable us to understand something of the aspirations of the Indian nationalists and also of the difficulties of the British rulers in the conflict that arises between the East and the West.

Mr. Gandhi was born in a small native state of western India in which his forefathers had long been prime ministers. As a student of the Inner Temple in London he remained true to the vow he had made to his mother to abstain from wine, from flesh, and from sexual immorality. He studied both the Hindu *Gita* and the Christian Gospel, and accepted for himself the principle of self-renunciation and passive resistance. After returning to India to practice law, he proceeded to South Africa in connection with a case. Finding 150,000 of his

Indian fellow-subjects there unjustly persecuted and threatened with the Asiatic Exclusion Act, he identified himself with the poor and despised Indian community, and tried to prevent their disfranchisement and banishment. For them he offered his life and his money though he was mobbed and half killed.

Here he began the practice of passive resistance that was successfully sustained for the next eight years. He called his principle *Satyagraha*, "Truth-Force" or soul-force, as opposed to brute-force, based on the overcoming of evil by good. Time and again Mr. Gandhi was arrested and sent to jail, only asking that he might have the maximum sentence which was inflicted upon his people. In prison he read Tolstoy, whom he closely resembles, Ruskin, Emerson, the *Bhagavad Gita*, and the Bible.

The Indians in South Africa were willing to suffer and cheerfully went to jail by hundreds. Mr. Gandhi roused all India to sympathetic and indignant protest against the ill treatment of their fellow countrymen by another colony of the Empire. Lord Hardinge's famous speech in Madras, when as Viceroy he placed himself at the head of Indian public opinion, and the intervention of the British Government, helped at last to win the long fight and to remove, at least for the time, the color bar of race discrimination. Mr. Gandhi raised an Indian Stretcher-Bearer Corps to serve in South Africa

during the native rebellion, and at the outbreak of the Great War organized an Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps. He threw himself loyally into recruiting for the Indian army and the Empire.

Mr. Gandhi has long lived a life of voluntary poverty. He eats but one meal a day, and that only of fruits and vegetables. His years of strain and frequent long fasts have aged him and somewhat broken his health. Upon returning to India he formed his *Satyagraha* Society to train men from childhood for public service by austerity of life and self-denial.[4]

Mr. Gandhi exemplifies India's ideal of detachment, the complete separation of the spiritual life from the material world. He is one with the Indian *rishis* and *sadhus* of thirty centuries who have left the world to contemplate God and the soul in forests and deserts. But Mr. Gandhi does not leave the world. He lives in it and rouses all India to passive resistance at his word.

In his own "Confession of Faith" he utterly repudiates modern civilization and all material com-

[4] Each member of the Society takes the following vows: (1) The vow of truth; (2) of overcoming evil by good; (3) of celibacy and absolute abstinence from the life of the flesh; (4) of simple food; (5) of self-denial and non-possession of anything they do not absolutely need, that all may have enough; (6) of patriotism and the development of Indian industries; (7) of fearlessness and readiness to suffer; (8) of the use of Indian vernaculars; (9) of the dignity of labor; (10) of political, economic, and social reform, rooted in the religious spirit.

forts. He says that cities are plague spots, medical science and hospitals are of the devil, railways and telegraphs, lawyers and doctors, modern inventions and machine-made clothing must go, and India must hold to the primitive plough and her ancient simple life.

Mr. Gandhi is literally worshiped today wherever he goes in India. Thousands will prostrate themselves in the dust at his feet. He is a man fearless, selfless, patriotic. A word from him and his followers take the vow of *Satyagraha*, or passive resistance, to refuse to obey whatever laws he shall proscribe. A word from him misunderstood, and Delhi is in riot and North India aflame. The Government politely arrests him for a day and India is ready to rise if he bids it; yet he deprecates any such violence or use of force.

Professor Gilbert Murray, of Oxford, writing of Mr. Gandhi speaks of "this battle of a soul against a government," and says, "He is a dangerous and uncomfortable enemy because his body, which you can always conquer, gives you so little purchase upon his soul." And Gandhi is typical of India which worships him. India's new nationalism is rooted in religion, and finds in it the mainspring of conduct.

The political demands of the National Congress, the Muslim League, and the other Indian leaders were finally answered in the House of Commons by

the epoch-making pronouncement of August 20, 1917. "The policy of His Majesty's Government . . . is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of the self-governing institutions with a view to *the progressive realization of responsible government in India*, as an integral part of the British Empire. . . . This policy can only be achieved by successive stages. Ample opportunity will be afforded for public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament."[5] This was one of the most momentous utterances ever made in India's history. It marked the end of a century of British rule *of* the people, and the beginning of a new era of rule *by* the people. It was the first clear official recognition by the British Government that India's goal was responsible government by the people themselves.

To carry out this policy, Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State, came to India, consulted with Indian and foreign leaders throughout the country, and finally drew up the celebrated Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme. This scheme promises to India three things based upon three principles. The three things are "The progressive realization of responsible government"—local, provincial, and national. It proposes (1) to give *complete local* self-government in villages, municipalities, and districts, which will

[5] For full text of the pronouncement see Appendix IV.

train up intelligent electorates, beginning with about five million voters; (2) to give *partial* self-government in the provinces, to train the people of India as the original thirteen colonies of America were prepared for national self-government; and (3) to retain British control for the present in the *national* government, though providing for larger Indian representation. The crucial advance is in the provinces, some of them having a population of four and five times that of New York State or Pennsylvania.

The three principles upon which these reforms are based are: (1) The principle of *Indian responsibility.* Britain is to give over at once certain "transferred" subjects to the control of Indian ministers responsible to their constituencies which elect them. These men are free to make their own mistakes and must suffer for them. They lose office when they fail to command the support of the majority in the provincial assembly. (2) The principle of *temporary British control over law and order.* Until India is ready for full self-government, certain subjects are to be "reserved" under British control, such as the maintenance of law and order, the police, jails, land revenue, and the welfare of the masses.[6] (3) The principle of *the gradual increase of respons-*

[6] The subjects to be transferred to Indian control include probably education, agriculture, forests, fisheries, provincial taxation, local self-government, roads, public buildings, sanitation and medicine, and the development of arts and industries.

ibility until India shall be a self-governing member of the British Empire with its own constitution. This divided responsibility between the subjects "transferred" to Indians and those "reserved" for British control is described as *diarchy*. It has been violently attacked on the one hand by Indian extremists who clamor for immediate and complete home rule, and on the other hand by many British officials, who make up the conservative bureaucracy of India, and who say that India is incapable of responsible government. The truth probably lies between the two. It is difficult to see how practical statesmanship could have devised a plan that could more surely and safely have made possible the great transition from paternal government to popular government by India herself. The present plan is based on the principle that only the exercise of responsibility calls forth a capacity for it, and that "good government is no substitute for self-government." Education and political responsibility are to be the two means of training the new India.

VIII

THE AWAKENING OF INDIA

(CONTINUED)

In addition to the political and social awakenings in India, there is at present a religious awakening which is the more remarkable if we consider it against the background of India's great religious past. India and China alone can trace back an unbroken civilization with a highly developed literature, philosophy, and religion for over thirty centuries. The fair Aryans who entered India from the North were closely related to the Anglo-Saxons in both race and language. Caste, in its origin, was a natural, self-protective effort to preserve the color line and the purity of their blood from any intermingling with that of the dark aborigines. The Indian Aryans were civilized and were composing the great Vedic hymns to their gods before Homer wrote the "Iliad," and while our own ancestors were scarcely emerging from barbarism. Gautama Buddha, India's greatest religious genius, was sending out his yellow-robed monks with the teaching of his law before Greece had awakened to her full splendor. The great Asoka (B. C. 272–231) enhanced India's glory by his tolerant and enlightened reign, and transformed Buddhism into a world religion.

After Asoka, for fifteen centuries India was ravaged by one long almost unbroken stream of fierce invaders—the Greeks, Scythians, Bactrians, Mongols, Huns, Arabs, Afghans, Turks, and the border tribes invaded the land in turn. One conqueror alone ravaged the north seventeen times. But India was intent upon her own life, her philosophy, her literature, and her religion. "She let the legions thunder past, and plunged in thought again." For India is always religious. To her, life is spiritual, and everything is divine. The material is unreal, God is the one great reality. "India is the spiritual mother of half mankind." She has been the great philosopher nation. But to her the one aim of philosophy and of life itself has been to find God. This is often expressed in boundless devotion, measureless asceticism, utter self-renunciation; in pilgrimages, fastings, self-torture, vigils, and years of silent meditation in the solitude of the forest or of the burning plains. All these tell the story of the most devoted and tragic search for God ever made by any nation in the world.

As India's ancient conservatism and autocratic caste divisions sprang from her religion, so one of the main sources of the new democracy and progress is found in the Christian religion brought from the West. Carey had landed in India in 1793. He brought a dynamic message which was to create a new personal, social, and political life. He founded

the first university college in India, the first educational institutions for women, the first English magazine, the first vernacular newspaper, the first agricultural and horticultural society in Bengal. He published the first Sanskrit grammar and dictionary in English, supervised the translation and publication of the Scriptures in some forty languages, and founded eighteen mission stations as radiating centers of the new life. In 1830 Alexander Duff, the founder of the English educational system, landed, and finally drew his converts from twenty-six of the leading families of Calcutta, furnishing the leadership for the Christian civilization that was to spread across India. The work of Carey and Duff culminated in Macaulay's Educational Minute and the movement for social reform. Their work stimulated the first Indian reformer, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, and led to the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj and other progressive institutions.

Religion, whether true or false, molds life, makes character, shapes the individual, society, and government. It is the great architectonic force in human life. And religion is determined by its conception of four ideas—God, man, duty, destiny. Hinduism, while it has contained so much that was tragically noble and good, has never been able to throw off the ignoble and evil. In the main it has thought of God in terms of pantheism or polytheism; man's personality seems a temporary illusion; it has no sure

foundation for a high morality in ethical monotheism and it has lost any clear view of destiny in the mists of endless transmigration and rebirth in this world, and of impersonal absorption of the individual in the world to come. India is left today, in spite of all her noble and undeveloped possibilities, as the country in all Asia most filled with poverty, illiteracy, superstition, and idolatry. The product of Hinduism is India.

Carey and Duff and the four thousand missionaries in India today have brought to this land four dynamic concepts: One God as a loving, personal Father; one humanity of universal brotherhood, where every individual man is of infinite worth; one Saviour, with a new standard of righteousness expressed in self-sacrificing service; and a new hope of social redemption, of personal immortality and eternal life. These four principles have been lived out in the life of Christian homes and communities; they have been inculcated in the character of future leaders through thirty-eight well equipped Christian colleges, and 13,000 mission schools with more than 500,000 pupils. They have been exemplified in the work of hundreds of mission hospitals, printing presses, and philanthropic institutions. They have been seen in the rapid expansion of a growing Christian Church.[1] These principles have been shown in

[1] During a decade according to the last census, while the Buddhists increased eleven per cent, the Muhammadans and

the mighty transformation of many of the 60,000,000 untouchables, cast out of Hinduism. The Methodist Church alone has rescued from among them over 100,000 converts in the last two decades. Christian missions are the greatest single force for the regeneration of India today. The Indian Empire is being converted as surely and steadily as the Roman Empire in the early centuries.

During the last six months, as we have been touring India, we have seen evidences on every hand of this religious awakening. Quite apart from converts, let us notice first the indirect result of missions in the changes evident in the non-Christian community. Educated Hindus are turning more and more to monotheism. They are adopting the conception of God as a loving Father and seeking Him in prayer. They are seeing the evils of caste and admitting the claims of human brotherhood. Following the example of the missionaries, many have begun work for the depressed classes. The uplift and education of womanhood and the noble movement for social reform are gathering strength. The educated Hindus of today are unconsciously taking their ideals of life largely from Jesus Christ. From the Sermon on the Mount, from His demand for

Parsees each six per cent, and the Hindus only four per cent, while the Jains decreased nine per cent, the Indian Protestant Christian community increased nearly fifty per cent. Some 1,200 every week or 5,000 a month have been added to the Church during the last decade.

moral purity, from His example of self-denying service, from the sacrifice of His cross, they are drawing their inspiration and example for life. Mr. Gandhi is a case in point. Largely because of its contact with Christianity there is a wide-spread movement to reform Hinduism, to cleanse away its obscenities and evil practices.

None of this comes within the visible circle of Christian statistics. Here is a concrete example. There lies before us a letter just received from a Rajah in South India. Nominally he would be classed as a Hindu Brahmin. But at the top of his letterhead is a picture of Christ, and under it the words, "Love thy God and thy neighbor as thyself." He has translated the gospels into Telugu verse. The present letter is to thank the writer for getting Dr. Sheldon's permission for him to translate "In His Steps" for Indian readers. He freely acknowledges Christ as the only Saviour and the only hope of India, though he is not a member of any church. Daily he spends much time in reading the New Testament and in prayer. He is far more truly a Christian than the vast majority of Christians in the West. The man is typical of hundreds and even thousands in India. The Christians in India number only some 4,000,000, but the unseen Christ has entered to a greater or less degree every institution in India, every reform, every movement for political social, economic, and religious transformation, and

the day will come when India will acknowledge Him and make her matchless contribution to His Kingdom. She will bring forth from her treasures things new and old: the old, from her thirty centuries of devotion to the quest of the spiritual and unseen; the new, from a quest rewarded and fulfilled in Christ, the only answer of her deep desire.

We have found a second evidence of the present religious awakening in the Christian community. As we have journeyed through the land we have seen two new developments of great promise, the indigenous movement of *personal evangelism*, whereby the Church itself is undertaking the task of winning India, and the movement for *corporate union* among the Christian churches.

On our last Sunday in the South, at Arupukottai, we saw the village Christians, miles from any railway, bringing in the results of their work during the past weeks, in men won by themselves through personal work. On Sunday morning in one church we saw baptized 123 men and women, gathered from fourteen different castes of Hinduism. These Hindus, separated from one another by the prison bars of caste, who had never had any mutual relations, either in eating or in intermarriage, were now entering one great Christian family and one common brotherhood for the winning of India. These fourteen castes, from the highest next to the Brahmin to the lowest pariah, embraced landlords, culti-

vators, goldsmiths, accountants, coolies, and three of the robber castes, including the cattle-lifters and the jewel thieves. In the evening during the last evangelistic meeting five more men from different castes rose and publicly confessed Christ. One of them, an astrologer and leader among the people, stepped forward and gave his testimony. He swayed the whole audience as he spoke. He had been providing charms and horoscopes and deceiving the people by sorcery. He publicly repented of his past, gave up his lucrative occupation and came out boldly as a Christian. We took him with us to the next city for training, and already he gives promise of becoming an Indian evangelist of power.

In the Tinnevelly district, some miles from the railway, fifty wealthy Hindu women had come out publicly for Christ without their husbands and had been baptized. They have been persecuted, dragged through the streets, beaten, and forced by the mob into the outward forms of their old idol-worship, but they are standing firm today and are now winning their husbands to Christianity. In Madura 500 Christian women were praying and working for the non-Christian women of the city. The church was filled every night with an audience of non-Christian men listening to the evangelistic addresses. The movement for evangelism is gathering headway, deepening and spreading among the people themselves. A special "week of evangelism" has been

organized and is being taken up by the Christians all over India and China.

A second result of this cooperation of all Indian Christians for evangelism has been an unforeseen movement for church union, to unite the three leading churches of South India. On May 1 and 2, 1919, a conference of Indian ministers was held on the subject of church union at old Tranquebar, where Protestant mission work was begun more than two centuries ago. At this conference the ministers of two denominations voted unanimously for a plan of union to establish a more truly national Indian Church. These two bodies were the Church of England and the South India United Church, which already includes all of the Congregational, Dutch Reformed, Free Church of Scotland, Established Church of Scotland, and the Basel Reformed missions of South India. Following this meeting another conference of ministers was held among the Syrians and Anglicans in Travancore. The leaders of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church also decided to join the movement for union.

The Indian leaders of these three bodies have agreed unofficially upon forming a truly Indian Church, uniting the polity of the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Episcopal churches all in one. The coming together of these three churches would unite in one body the converts of the mission work of England, Scotland, and America. They repre-

sent the three great divisions of the Christian Church—the Western Church, the Eastern Church, and the free Protestant churches. It was said at the Edinburgh Conference in 1910 that union on the mission field would be equivalent to doubling all our Christian forces. If this union is formed it will be the first time in four hundred years since the Reformation that the great division between the episcopal and non-episcopal churches has been healed. It will be the first time in nine centuries, since the division between the Eastern and Western Churches, that bodies related to these two branches of the Church have ever come together. It would unite some 550,000 Christians in the largest church of the whole world mission field. May not these churches in India be leading the way toward the Church of the future and the reunion of a divided Christendom? May they not have a lesson to teach us in the divided West?[2]

A brief glance at the ancient Syrian Church of Travancore may serve to show the significance of the movement, both for evangelism and for Christian union in India today.

It has been the persistent tradition of the Syrian Church that it was founded by the Apostle Thomas in the first century. While this lacks historical proof, it is certain that after the fourth century a

[2] A full statement of the plan of union will be found in Appendix V.

strong Christian church existed in South India. About the year 345 A. D. a large emigration of Christians from Syria seems to have arrived and for centuries the church was dependent upon the Patriarch of Antioch.

In 883 A. D. King Alfred of England sent ambassadors with gifts to them. For centuries the Church has maintained its existence in spite of persecution. After two of their bishops had been murdered, 30,000 of these persecuted Syrians assembled around the historic Coonen cross, and taking hold of ropes attached to the cross, took a solemn oath that they would resist the Roman Inquisition and stand for the freedom of their faith. During the last century they have been quickened to new life, largely through the efforts of devout workers of the Church Missionary Society. The Mar Thoma Syrian Church has been thoroughly reformed, and has returned to the ideal of its early apostolic simplicity. It has a married priesthood, an open Bible, a simple and vital faith, and is maintaining active and efficient work in other parts of India. Bishop Abraham was educated in Wycliffe College, Toronto, and no church has a more devout and spiritual leadership.

In February we attended the great convention of the Mar Thoma Syrians held annually in Travancore. Imagine yourself in Maramanu at the Sunday morning service in the great palm leaf pavilion, where

30,000 Syrian Christians have gathered from all parts of this native state of Travancore. It is stifling hot even in winter, down here near the Equator. Above us rise the graceful cocoanut palms, the pepper vines, and banana trees.

On the platform at our left are seated the white-robed priests of this ancient church, and upon raised seats on the right are the two bishops in their purple satin robes, with golden girdles and quaint headdresses. One is of the old school, looking like the ancient Nestorian patriarch of Antioch, from whom his bishopric draws its historical descent. The other is a young man, modern, keen, alert, whom we knew as a college student a dozen years ago, when he decided one night to give up his future ambition in the law and to enter Christian work. After completing his education in Canada he returned to spend his life in vitalizing this ancient church in which he was born. In front of the platform in this great pavilion the Christians are seated. They have been gathering from hundreds of distant villages, coming up like the tribes of old to the Feast of Tabernacles at Jerusalem. All are clad in flowing white garments and are seated on the dry sand of the river bed, the men on the right, the women on the left. As the people unite in the recessional you can hear a distant murmur rising like the sound of the sea. A wave of prayer seems to sweep over the vast audience. The Bishop leads in a last prayer and we

begin the morning's address. We have continued one theme throughout the entire week, that of personal evangelism, or the indigenous effort of this ancient church to win India for Christ through the laity.

After the address we throw the meeting open for personal work to train the rank and file of Christians for this service, before they return to their distant villages. The young Bishop leaves the platform to work among the people. Some fifty priests scatter among them, all busily at work. Nearly twenty-five years ago their first convention was held here in the sands of this river bed with a thousand or two present. Their numbers have grown until now this is by far the largest Christian convention in the world. They are turning back to the primitive and simple Christianity of the early days, with an open Bible, fervent prayer, and simple witnessing to the glad news of abundant life. Here is an ancient Indian church, using its own forms of worship and expressing Eastern methods of devotion.

All about us are the teeming villages of India, 737,000 of them; so many that if Christ had visited one every day during His life on earth, and one every day since that time, He would not yet have finished the task to this date. Yet here in this ancient Syrian Church in all its branches are enough Christians to place one in every village in India. Once this church is awakened, it will be a mighty factor in the evan-

gelization of this land. It is awakening today and its leaders are proposing a movement for the corporate union of Christians which puts to shame the divisions of the Church of Christ in the West.

Just as we attempted to show the political problem epitomized in a leader like Mr. Gandhi, so we can perhaps best appreciate the work of missions if we note two or three concrete examples of typical Indian Christians. We will take three men whose work we have seen on our recent tour, representing three different Indian types, the saint, the churchman, and the statesman, as exemplified in *Sadhu* Sunder Singh, Bishop Azariah, and Mr. K. T. Paul.

Of the three, the *Sadhu* is the most typically Indian, for no other country could produce him. As in the case of Mr. Gandhi, the asceticism and renunciation of thirty centuries are summed up in this Christian ascetic, for the calling of a *sadhu* means lifelong renunciation, to wander a homeless, penniless beggar, utterly detached from the material world.

He was born of the warrior Sikhs, of a wealthy family, and as a boy had memorized the sacred scriptures of the Sikhs and Hindus. He was sent to the village mission school for an education, but the Bible roused within him the fiercest antagonism. He tore up his New Testament and burnt it. For years he sought God in his own religion, in sacred books, vigils, and fasts. Sikh, Hindu, and Christian

ideals were all struggling in his soul. One day he resolved to find God or die, and spent the whole night in prayer with his New Testament. Just before dawn he believed he saw the radiant figure of Christ, calling him to take up his cross and to follow Him.

For nine months he bore the persecution, the tears, and the entreaties of his own home, and then at the age of sixteen, disowned because he had become a Christian, his life attempted by poison, he left as an outcast, henceforth to be a homeless wanderer. He was baptized in 1905 and took the simple saffron robe of the mendicant ascetic. He began telling the good news of the Christian message in his own town and through the Panjab, on into Afghanistan and Kashmir. Clad in his single cotton cloth and with his bare feet often bleeding, he slept in caves, forests, or village streets. In 1905 he first hazarded the dangers of Tibet, and spent the hot months of each succeeding year there. Many a time, when it was known that he was a Christian, he was driven from the villages to sleep in jungles or caves.

In 1914 in Nepal he was thrown into prison, but still preached to the prisoners there. He was then exposed in the stocks in the public marketplace without food, while leeches were thrown upon him to suck his life-blood. When set free he fell unconscious, but was finally able to crawl away. In

Tibet he met the persecution of the Lamas in bigoted Lhasa, which has witnessed the murder of so many. He was at one time tried and condemned to death for preaching Christ. He was lowered into a dry well, to starve among the bones of others who had perished there. After terrible tortures, on the third night he was released by some one from above, and after regaining strength returned again to preach in the city from which he was once more driven out.

During our six months' tour in India we ran across the *Sadhu's* track in every part of the country. In Travancore, in Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, he is almost worshiped by many, for India finds in him her ascetic ideal, a life of renunciation and detachment from the material. Upon thousands of lives he has left a more extraordinary impression than any other man in India. Everywhere he seems to remind men of Christ on earth. This summer he held meetings in Japan and China, and as we write he has once more entered Tibet. He is the typical Indian Christian *sadhu* or saint.

We may take the life of Bishop Azariah, as a second typical Indian biography. His ancestors were from the humble caste of tree climbers, shut out from the temples and from the pale of Hinduism. This caste, however, is making rapid progress today in education and furnishing some of the strongest Christian leaders in India, an argument for Christ's principle of brotherhood and human

worth, as against the false principle of caste. For some years Azariah was the writer's fellow-worker in India as a secretary of the Y. M. C. A.

One night under the palm trees of Ceylon he caught a vision of his country's need, of his people unawakened, and his land unsaved. Returning to his own church, he gathered a dozen young men and organized the Indian Missionary Society of Tinnevelly, working with Indian men, Indian money, Indian methods, and Indian management. After rousing Christians in India to evangelize their own country, he himself felt the call to go to the neediest and most degraded people in the native state of Hyderabad. Ten years ago he began work among these depressed classes. In 1912 in the Cathedral at Calcutta, in the presence of the Governor of Bengal and a distinguished assembly, he was consecrated by the Metropolitan and Bishops of India, Burma, and Ceylon as the first Anglican Indian Bishop.

Having witnessed the humble beginnings of his mission work, we went at Easter time this year to see what had been accomplished. Before sunrise the people at Dornakal had assembled to celebrate the dawn of Easter Sunday. Here was a congregation of four hundred Christians, part of several thousands gathered in the last few years from the lowest outcastes, who have been transformed by the spirit of Christ and are becoming a powerful force for the evangelization of this native state. Only a decade

ago we had seen these people living in drunkenness, dirt, debt, and illiteracy. Many of them were carrion eaters, living upon dead carcasses. But today what a change! How can we account for this transformation of the character and lives of these people? The cause is found in the man who has just entered the door to lead the Easter service, the young Indian Bishop. It is he who a decade ago founded this Indian Missionary Society, who with his able fellow-workers has won 3,000 converts in this first station, and who now has the care of 60,000 Christians in his diocese.

Upon his arrival the Bishop began to gather these people into schools and congregations to teach them. They were so ignorant that there were men and women who after six weeks of patient instruction literally could not repeat the first sentence of the Lord's Prayer. Accordingly the Bishop dropped the method of teaching by rote, and found that in a day or two they could be taught to pray spontaneously out of their own hearts. We looked into the bright faces of the boarding-school children. In the surrounding villages are reformed drunkards, thieves, and outcastes, who are now in charge of congregations, earning their own livelihood and receiving not a cent for Christian work. The whole work is natural, indigenous, and spontaneous. No foreigner has ever controlled it. No evangelist is paid for preaching the Gospel. Evangelism is considered to be the universal privilege of the Church.

The boarding-school boys are taught weaving, carpentry, and agriculture. The plan is similar to that of Hampton and Tuskegee in America for the industrial uplift of an impoverished race. Here are boys who will go out as self-supporting workers, many of them to take charge of a village congregation. Take a case in point. We have just been having a talk with Thomas, a new convert. He told us his own story. A member of the thief caste, for ten years Thomas was a professional robber. He had been twice in prison. Eight years ago Thomas was baptized. He went out by himself and won two villages to Christianity. He has charge of a congregation which he teaches on Sunday and shepherds on week days. His wife teaches the night school in the village and both are laboring hard to win the people of their own robber caste. Neither receives any salary for this work. The Christian people have given up drink, the women are well clad, for the first time in their lives they have at least two regular meals a day, their debts are paid, and Thomas's wife is the proud possessor of a War Bond. For years Thomas was on the black books of the police as a "known depredator" and had to answer the thieves' roll call every night. He is now a member of the Diocesan Council, the head of a congregation, a living witness to the transforming power of the Gospel of Christ. Can you imagine what a spiritual force a thousand or two such living arguments would be in the midst of

the corruption, drunkenness, and illiteracy around them? These men are the hope of India's 60,000,000 outcastes. And such men as Bishop Azariah are the hope of the Christian Church.

A third type of Indian Christian may be seen in Mr. K. T. Paul, an organizer and Christian statesman. He is a nationalist as truly as Gokhale or Gandhi, but as much of a practical organizer as any American or Britisher. One remembers the night many years ago when he made his great decision, renounced his ambition and professional prospects, and came out to serve his country as the head of the National Missionary Society. This organization is successfully conducting its own missions in five sections of India, with missionary magazines in as many vernaculars. It has already gathered nearly 3,000 converts. Mr. Paul later became National Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. The British and American Associations combined have in two decades been able to send out only one or two men of equal ability in organization. With his colleagues he is grappling today with the overwhelming problems that India presents. There are the young men of the cities who will lead the political movements, as India enters upon a new era of responsible government. There are India's 60,000 students in the universities and the 2,000,000 former students who speak English. Who is to guide these young men amid the perils of the present situation? Then there are the

nine-tenths of the population found in the villages of India. Mr. Paul has been facing the problems of all these classes. He has been developing an able Indian leadership and adapting the Christian movement to Oriental conditions.

He and a growing band of Indian Christian college graduates are the hope of the new era of responsible government. Democracy will be on trial in ancient India. The problem of India, and in fact of the whole of continental Asia is whether Hinduism and the non-Christian religions can produce honest and efficient democratic government.[3]

May we venture on a prediction from the analogy of history? Responsible government in India will succeed—in part. Great leaders like Gokhale and Gandhi will rise above selfish interest and caste prejudice and from motives of patriotism will serve their country loyally and effectively. In so far as responsible government succeeds, it will be a clear gain. But India may witness a great outbreak of bribery and corruption. She will have something to do besides criticizing others. Just as there is much corruption in some of her municipalities which we visited recently, this will probably appear on a

[3] Conditions in Japan are wholly exceptional and unparalleled. There the solidarity of the nation and the powerful motive of patriotism among the masses, who are now widely educated, furnish the ground, upon the *material* plane, for a relatively honest and highly efficient administration of a benevolent oligarchy.

larger and more dangerous scale nationally. In just so far as her own religions cannot produce honesty and efficiency and democracy; in just so far as they cannot lift the outcastes, and rise above bribery and special caste privilege, they will be driven back to the great dynamic Christian principles and the motive power that has produced men like *Sadhu* Sunder Singh, Bishop Azariah, and Mr. K. T. Paul. The regeneration of India must depend upon personal character. The need of the future lies in multiplying the leaders who will share in these characteristics of the Christian saint, the Christian churchman, and the Christian statesman. And Christianity alone can produce such Christians.

As one of the problems with which Mr. Paul and other Christian leaders are trying to grapple, let us try to grasp the poverty of the nearly 300,000,000 in rural India. Let us survey this vast area of human need.

We are standing on a hill top in western India in the midst of the famine district. As far as the eye can reach toward the burning horizon we look out over these parched plains of death. Fields that should be green with corn are burnt like brick and the sky above seems brass. With the failure of the rain the crops withered and died nearly six months ago. Skeletons of dead cattle which have already succumbed lie by the roadside. Just ahead is one of the government relief works where 6,000 people

are building a road. The men get eight cents a day, the women seven cents, and the children from two to four cents. On the bare height is the deserted Hindu temple with its hideous dead idol of stone, with no message and no motive for service in such an hour of need. Above, the vultures dot the sky awaiting the next carcass. Parts of India are in the thrall of famine again. Even in normal times this is the neediest section of this round world of human need. Here one-fifth of the human race lives in the midst of greater poverty, ignorance, illiteracy, superstition, idolatry, debt, and famine than any other large section of Asia.

When we landed in India more than twenty years ago we went through the experience of a great famine when 5,000,000 died and 50,000,000 suffered the gnawing pains of hunger. During the last half century twenty-two famines have swept away 28,000,000 of the population. The average *per capita* wealth is only about $100, or about one-twentieth that of America or England. The average income of each person according to Lord Cromer was only ten dollars per year, or about three cents a day. How can they get three meals a day on an income of three cents? They simply do not get them. Wages vary from four to ten cents a day for a day laborer. We learned recently of two boys who were daily walking twenty-two miles to get work at four cents a day in order to support their widowed

mother and her children. Living from hand to mouth, the people easily fall a prey to the voracious money-lender and soon become his slaves. Rates of interest vary all the way from 18 to 150 per cent *per annum*. Near a city through which we have just passed a poor villager was compelled to pay 400 per cent interest in two years without reducing the principal. Unable to read or write, forced to make his mark on any document which the money-lender placed before him, the man speedily became the slave of this Shylock. He is now caught in the spider's web; his time, his labor, his cattle if he has any, his land, and even his wife and children are under the control of this usurer who becomes his lord and master. If he is insubordinate, he is dragged to court and his family become paupers.

Is there any remedy for this state of things? Five years ago the Young Men's Christian Association in India, under the leadership of its National General Secretary, Mr. K. T. Paul, opened a Rural Department to endeavor to grapple with the terrific economic and social needs of the downtrodden outcaste masses of the poor. After a thorough canvass of the field, a Christian Central Bank was organized. This Central Bank loans money at seven and a half per cent to cooperative societies, which are organized by the Y. M. C. A., subject to inspection by Government.

Able young Indian college graduates of strong

moral character are chosen and given a thorough training in government agricultural schools, in conducting cooperative societies, or as specialists in weaving, sericulture, leather-working, and other industries. The rural work of the Y. M. C. A. is based on foundations laid by Government, which has done splendid work, but the people are suspicious of a government official and averse to change, and here voluntary Christian organizations can help.

Let us imagine a young Indian secretary, an English-speaking college graduate, entering a rural field endeavoring to lift the whole tone of life in a group of twenty surrounding villages. He makes a survey of the field and prepares to form a cooperative society with unlimited liability. First of all the old debts and mortgages of the villagers, which have been hanging like a mill-stone about their necks and preventing all hope of progress, are paid off, and new loans are made which are confined strictly to productive investments. One man now buys a few acres of land and begins a little farm. Another buys a pair of ploughing oxen, another procures one of the new type of Meston ploughs, a Western plough adapted to Indian conditions which can be pulled by Indian oxen. New tools, better implements, and modern methods of agriculture are introduced. In a village where the people are weavers, the new "fly shuttle loom" is procured and the people are in-

structed in its use. With this loom they can soon double or treble their income.

The rural secretary teaches the people to keep their books and educate their children. He drills them in business methods, teaches them to prepare their documents, and instructs them in reading and writing so that they can affix their signatures. He teaches the farmers better methods of fertilizing and preserving of crops and fodder; he introduces the silo, teaches the people rotation of crops, better methods of caring for cattle and poultry, and how to secure the best market for their produce. Cooperative societies soon inculcate new habits of thrift and self-help. If multiplied in India, they will help to do away with the curse of chronic famine. The cooperative society and its economic benefits are made the leverage for lifting the entire life of the village—moral, social, educational, and religious.

A new moral standard is soon discernible in the village. In the evening the secretary calls together the boys of the village and instructs them in simple, non-equipment games. Later on he may introduce football and volley ball. The whole village collects in the moonlight to watch the children with the new spirit of joy and play. The elders stand by wistfully looking on, until finally they plead that they also may be allowed to join in and play the games of which they never heard when they passed through their relatively joyless childhood. Lantern lectures

on popular subjects and motion pictures are next used to open the eyes of these people.

Take a typical rural worker such as we have just seen. He has buried his life out in the district among the people of Travancore and already there is a wonderful response. Scores of men have been released from debt. People whose outcaste ancestors had lived from hand to mouth as coolies, forbidden by the Law of Manu to own land or to live decently, have now secured property of their own. Some have doubled and trebled their incomes. Some have new and better houses. This one man is conducting work through twenty-five rural Y. M. C. A.'s which have been organized in his own district. Last year more than one thousand cottage prayer meetings were conducted, fifty Bible classes were held, and more than fifty men joined the Church. And all this work has been accomplished by one educated Indian Christian.

In no case during the five years has there been one bad loan, non-payment, or default, or a single lawsuit in connection with the Christian Central Bank. Principal and interest have both been paid. The government auditor shows that one hundred per cent of the loans due have been paid to date. The whole plan is sound, sane, and practical and it is working. There is need of opening this work in thousands of villages immediately.

Here is the appeal India makes to us, the mute

appeal of one vast immeasurable human need. The people of India are ready to help themselves in so far as that is humanly possible. The British Government stands ready to do its part, in so far as official help can be given, but it is strictly pledged to religious neutrality. India's deepest need cannot be met by official government action and it has not been met by thirty-five centuries of India's indigenous religions, noble as has been her long search for truth. One thing alone can meet her need, the dynamic of vital Christianity. That and that alone will enable her to take her place in Everybody's World.

IX

ANGLO-SAXON RESPONSIBILITY

America's "splendid isolation" is apparently ended forever. She is no longer islanded in the New World. Through no purpose or plan of her own a Providence has driven her beyond her own borders, and called her to take her place among the nations. It is gratifying that the republics of France and America have been bound together.

No result of the war, however, is more significant than that which has drawn America into closer relationship with Great Britain in the reunion of the Anglo-Saxon peoples. For the first time in history the British Union Jack has floated from the Washington monument—the only foreign flag, so far as we know, which has ever been placed there—and the Stars and Stripes from the Tower of the House of Parliament in London, where no other foreign flag has ever been unfurled.

Beginning as obscure Teutonic tribes, moving westward from Europe to the little island of Britain, and then across the wide Atlantic to the American continent, the liberty-loving Anglo-Saxon people have risen to a place of unique importance and responsibility in the world. It is of deep significance that the British Empire and the United States com-

bined control nearly one-third of the habitable land of the globe.

Taken together, these Anglo-Saxons have the responsibility for the government of more than 550,000,000 people, or nearly one-third of the population of the world.[1] If we consider for a moment the numbers of the white race in each country, the British Empire has about 60,000,000, governing some 380,000,000 of other races; while the United States has a white population of some 90,000,000, governing about 20,000,000 of other races.

In wealth, these Anglo-Saxon peoples hold a place of even greater importance than in the matter of area and population. The wealth of the United States before entering the War, according to the latest estimates of the Census Bureau in Washington, was approximately $228,000,000,000; and that of the British Empire over $130,000,000,000, or the enormous total of $358,000,000,000. Granting that all estimates of wealth are only a rough approximation, their combined wealth is greater than that of the score of other nations who were fighting in the late war all taken together, and is nearly one-half of that of the entire globe.[2]

More important than their area, population, and

[1] The estimated population of the United States and her possessions at the close of the War was over 113,000,000 and the British Empire 439,000,000—"Statesman's Year Book," and "World Almanac."

wealth, are the underlying ideals and principles upon which these Anglo-Saxon nations are built. We do not claim here any superiority to others, or that we have yet attained or lived up to our ideals. But we cannot deny the responsibility of a great inheritance. There is the common possession of the ideal of liberty, hard won by centuries of strife and sacrifice. Together the two peoples have stood for the ideal of democracy and self-government, and with France they have led in democratic institutions. Together these nations have maintained high ideals in education and great traditions in their religious life.

With all their faults, and despite many exceptions,

[2]*Estimated Wealth of Belligerent Nations*

	National Wealth	*Per Capita Wealth*
United States	$228,000,000,000	$2,012
United Kingdom	90,000,000,000	1,915
France	65,000,000,000	1,625
Russia	60,000,000,000	343
Italy	35,000,000,000	972
Belgium and Serbia	13,750,000,000	1,165
Portugal and Roumania	7,500,000,000	536
Entente Total	$499,250,000,000	$1,224
Germany, before the War	80,000,000,000	1,177
Austria-Hungary, before the War	45,000,000,000	849
Turkey and Bulgaria, before the War	8,750,000,000	330
Alliance Total	$133,750,000,000	$ 907
All Belligerents	$633,000,000,000	$1,092

See "War Loans and War Finance," page 32.

it cannot be denied that these two Anglo-Saxon peoples have been possessed by a great moral earnestness. These two nations have led during the last century in their philanthropic and missionary outreach. Apart from the Church of Rome, England and America together are furnishing nearly three-fourths of the missionaries of the world, and more than four-fifths of the financial expenditure for social and national uplift among the less favored peoples. Out of 24,039 missionaries, North America is furnishing 10,865 and Britain 6,599. Out of a total annual expenditure of $38,922,822., North America is furnishing $19,135,445., or about one-half, and Britain $13,819,340.

These nations have also held the aim of peace founded on righteousness, although they have not always been able to preserve this peace or maintain this righteousness. We do not hold that all of England's wars have been just and her possessions unselfishly gained, while a study of the history of the treaties of the United States with the Red Indians will not enable an American justly to assert that his own Government has always kept its obligations. But none the less, these two peoples have inherited a great common tradition and have held a high ideal of righteousness. Only if we maintain these ideals of unselfish service and insist on the right of full and free development for all other peoples for whom we may be held responsible, can we justify our existence.

Our responsibility is enormous. From an authority higher than any League of Nations we hold a mandate for all that we possess. And we must render an account of our stewardship.

Surely it has been entrusted to us, not for the enrichment of ourselves but as a mandate for the welfare of the world. The Anglo-Saxons never set out deliberately to conquer a third of the globe or to build up vast empires for themselves. The Pilgrim Puritans never dreamed of America as a continent of wealth, but sought a place of liberty, where they could worship God in peace. The hardy colonists who resisted taxation without representation never thought of a great republic. Their successors who felt that they were driven to intervene in the persecution and misgovernment in Cuba and the Philippines, could not forsee a precedent and a policy that would force them beyond their own borders to take their full part in the world's life. The American is more ready to grant an overruling Providence and disinterested motives to himself than he is to his British brother, just as the latter in turn is likely to misunderstand the former in his position with regard to the War. But the British Empire was built in the same unforeseen way.

The British never dreamed of an empire in India when the Dutch monopoly of pepper and spices forced them into more direct trade relations with the East. But step by step the defense of their trade

and factories, the internal strife of native princes and their mismanagement, the wars with the French and other causes led them on to their present position in India. They could not now suddenly withdraw without plunging the country into the civil war and bloodshed which existed for fifteen centuries before their entry. It was the same in Egypt. The hopeless state of her finances, the mismanagement and prodigal waste of Ismail Pasha forced England to intervene. The efficient reorganization of the country by Lord Cromer created a new and prosperous Egypt, a blessing instead of a burden to the world. The great danger in India, Egypt, and the Philippines alike is to look at the whole world from a self-centered standpoint and to forget our divine mandate.

It is our conviction that the two great Anglo-Saxon peoples have been united again, not only for the winning of the War, but for the winning of the world. If then the Anglo-Saxon peoples have been drawn together for some great providential purpose, it is of the utmost importance that we should understand each other and cooperate in the achievement of that purpose. At present there is need of a better understanding between these two peoples. The very fact that we have common traditions, a common history, a common language and literature, the very fact that we belong to the same family, means not only a closer relationship, but a source of pos-

sible friction. Unfortunately, we are often at our best with strangers and at our worst with our relatives. British and Americans hardly look upon each other as foreigners, but rather as cousins, but for that very reason the two nations are perhaps more critical of each other. The schoolbooks of America and our traditions from the Revolutionary War have helped to maintain on this side of the Atlantic something of the old prejudice. The press in each country until a few years ago emphasized the faults, peculiarities, and shortcomings of the other nation and did much to increase this prejudice.

The fact that we speak the same language is, strangely enough, another cause of friction. As a matter of fact we have a common literature, but we do not speak the same language. Only long residence in a country can enable us to understand the language of its people. Americans and English start out with the misconception that they understand each other's speech, but as a matter of fact we often use words with quite different intent. All nations, due to their own provincialism, have a certain natural prejudice against foreigners. As Lowell once observed, there is "a certain condescension in foreigners," which is not confined to any one people.

Mr. Samuel Crothers, in his delightful essay on "The Anglo-American School of Polite Unlearning," points out the necessity for both nations to unlearn their prejudice and the great mass of mis-

information which each has accumulated about the other. They must both realize that there is more than one way of doing things and that our way is not necessarily the best.

With a view to arriving at a better understanding of each other, we must ask leave to make two rather extended quotations from widely separated writers, on both sides of the Atlantic. Emerson, in his "English Traits," written seventy years ago, after his voyages to England in 1833 and 1847, makes some observations which throw light upon both the strong and weak points of the unchanging English character.

"They are free forcible men. They give the bias to the current age. They have sound bodies, and supreme endurance in war and in labor. . . . They are impatient of genius. They have a supreme eye to fact, keeping their eye on their aim. . . . In short, everyone of these islanders is an island himself, safe, tranquil, incommunicable. In a company of strangers, you would think him deaf; his eyes never wander from his table and newspaper, he is never betrayed into any curiosity or unbecoming emotion. . . . They have all been trained in one severe school of manners. They are positive, methodical, cleanly, and formal, loving routine and conventional ways; loving truth and religion, to be sure, but inexorable on points of form. . . . Let who will fail, England will not.

"They hate nonsense, sentimentalism, and high-flown expression; they use a studied plainness. They

are blunt in saying what they think, sparing of promises, and they require plain dealing of others. . . . Here exists the best stock in the world, broad-fronted, broad-bottomed, best for depth, range, and equability, men of aplomb and reserves, great range and many moods, strong instincts, yet apt for culture.

"Our swifter Americans, when they first deal with English, pronounce them stupid; but later, do them justice as people who wear well, or hide their strength. The stability of England is the security of the modern world. The English stand for liberty. . . . Already it is ruddering the balloon, and the next war will be fought in the air."[3]

We also add a quotation from a Scotchman which throws light upon the Englishman of today, taken from Ian Hay's delightful essay on "The Oppressed English."

"*The Englishman's Secular Decalogue:*

"(1) Thou shalt own allegiance to no man, save the King. Thou shalt be deferential to those above thee in station, and considerate of those below thee. To those of thine own rank thou mayest behave as seemeth good to thee.

"(2) Thou shalt worship thine ancestors and family connections.

"(3) Thou shalt not talk 'shop'.

"(4) Thou shalt not put on 'side'.

"(5) Thou shalt not speak aught but flippantly of matters that concern thee deeply.

[3] Emerson, "English Traits," pp. 26, 63, 83.

"(6) Thou shalt never make public thy domestic affairs. Above all, thou shalt never make open reference to thy women, in places where men gather together, such as the club.

"(7) Thou shalt make war as a sportsman. Thou shalt play the game. That is to say, thou shalt not study the science too laboriously beforehand, for that would savour of professionalism. And when thou dost fight thou shalt have strict regard for the rules, even if it be to thine own hurt. Moreover, thou shalt play for thy side and not for thyself. Thou shalt visit no personal affront upon thine enemy when thou dost capture him, for that is not the game.

"(8) Thou shalt never be in a hurry. Thou shalt employ deliberation in thought.

"(9) Thou shalt not enter into friendly relations with a stranger, least of all a foreigner, until thou shalt have made enquiry concerning him. When thou hast discovered a common bond, however slight, thou shalt take him to thy bosom.

"(10) Thou shalt render thyself inconspicuous. Thou shalt not wear unusual apparel, or thou shalt be committed to a special hell reserved for those who, knowing better, wear made-up ties, or who compass unlawful combinations of frock-coats, derby hats, and tan boots."[4]

Both these quotations throw light upon the English character and help us to understand it. The American has long been isolated, and the Englishman is naturally reticent and conservative,

[4] Ian Hay, "The Oppressed English," pp. 19–26.

but we simply must seek to understand each other, not for reasons of sentiment, but for solid accomplishment in cooperation, to fulfil our destiny of service to the world.

The writer has been many times in England and he lived for fifteen years with British residents in India. In attending a recent British Student Conference, he was struck by the contrast in mentality between British and American students. He observed the same in the two new volunteer armies as he compared young Englishmen with the same class in the American army. For the sake of clearness, he has drawn up a series of ten contrasts in parallel columns. This, confessedly, is subject to the danger of all sweeping generalizations, which are never completely true. Contrasts are often too sharp, and in some cases necessarily exaggerated to bring out the differences. There are, of course, many exceptions and many qualifications that would have to be made in each case.

This table of contrasts was submitted to a group of cosmopolitan students, both English and American, who had traveled widely, and most of them agreed with the majority of the points. Let us then state the ten contrasts, and briefly explain them afterward. If they are in a measure true they will explain many causes of misunderstanding and friction that have arisen from time to time between the two peoples.

CONTRASTS IN ANGLO-SAXON MENTALITY.

	English	*American*
1.	*The Mentality of Age* The product of an environment older, more highly developed and conventionalized.	*The Mentality of Youth* With the natural advantages, disadvantages, and limitations thereof.
2.	*Conservative* Suspicious of change. Empirical and pragmatic. The judicial mind, cautious, moderate, and just.	*Radical* Progressive and inventive. Volitional in temperament. The executive personality, aiming at efficiency.
3.	*The Intensive Mind* With a natural aversion to statistics; an emphasis on quality rather than quantity.	*The Extensive Mind* With a craving for exact and concrete measurement, and a love of statistics.
4.	*Individualistic and Critical* Critical of self, of others, of political opponents, and of national leaders.	*Social and Appreciative* Power of analytical criticism less developed, and more sensitive to criticism.
5.	*Reserved* Less free to speak, yet more frank, sometimes brutally frank in expression. Reserve often due to shyness.	*Unreserved and Expansive* More direct, open, and friendly; yet more tactful and diplomatic in expression.
6.	*Self-Depreciating* Self-confident in thought and action, but self-depreciating in speech.	*Youthfully Optimistic* Self-confident, not only in thought and action, but often in speech, which is obnoxious to the British.
7.	*Lacking in Social Democracy* Born of social privilege, in an older social order, with stratification of class and caste divisions. Superior attainment in social culture.	*Stronger in Social Democracy* Less class and caste division, more appreciation of innate worth. In a period of social construction, more callow and crude.
8.	*Strong in Political Democracy* Insistence on personal rights, self-government, and good government.	*Weaker in Political Democracy* Despite outward republican forms, more tolerant of bad government.

CONTRASTS IN ANGLO-SAXON MENTALITY—*Continued*

	English	*American*
9.	*Tendency to Prejudice* In matters of politics, social distinction, language, and pronunciation; prejudice against foreigners and foreign customs.	*Breadth rather than Depth* With opinions unformed and often lacking in thought. More versatile and adaptable, but with the danger of superficiality.
10.	*The Historic Standpoint* The long-distance view of time, producing patience and persistence in accomplishment. Proving all things and holding fast that which is good.	*The Prophetic Standpoint* Straining toward the future; lacking in experience of its own limitations; boundless hope of accomplishment, drive, push, and hurry.

We are here contrasting only English and American men of the same class. We do not include the Scotch, Irish, Canadians, or other Colonials, for they have the same difficulty in understanding the English that Americans have. The Canadians and Colonials, and indeed most people of newer countries, would, in most of their characteristics, have to be placed in the righthand column, in contrast with the English. Strangely enough if the contrast were between the English and the older countries of Europe, the former in turn would have to be moved over to the righthand column as relatively younger, more radical, progressive, optimistic, democratic, than their kindred of an older civilization on the mainland. In a word, we are all just human, made of the same raw material, the product of our differing environments, but more marked in our similarities than in our differences. We may be the product of

an environment older or younger, more developed or primitive, more conventional or crude, but we are brothers still. We all have so many faults that boasting is excluded for the cosmopolitan.

The first contrast is, of course, only relatively true. England, however, is an older country, more highly developed, more conventionalized, more mature in its social life and institutions. The American has been busy conquering the vast material resources and the virgin soil of a new continent. Not only is England an older nation, more highly developed in its life, but the English college student is more mature in his thought and reading and social life than is the American student of the same age. Youth and age each has its advantages and disadvantages.

Broadly speaking, the Englishman is certainly more conservative and the American more radical and progressive. The Englishman hates change, the American loves it. The Englishman is often more thoughtful than the American. Though neither has the capacity for the thorough abstract thought of the German, both are more practical, empirical, and intuitive. The American has the volitional temperament, he is a man of action rather than thought. While the Englishman is more judicial and cautious in mind, the American has more executive ability and efficiency in administration. These differences of viewpoint and habit of mind are a possible cause of

misunderstanding. Conservatives and radicals are often mutually prejudiced and opposed. The conservative, however, is only an old radical, and the radical only a young conservative. Each must supplement and learn from the other.

The third contrast, if true, explains another minor cause of misunderstanding. The more mature Britisher has generally a more intensive mind; more often he gets down to first principles; he has, as it seems to the American, a strange aversion to statistics and to mere bulk and bigness; he thinks in terms of value rather than of dimension. The American, on the contrary, has a natural love for what is large, an everlasting craving for figures, for exact and concrete measurements. He would feign, perforce, inform his English brother of the glories of Chicago, the exact floor space of its big department stores, the number of stories of his skyscrapers, the prosperity of his business, and the bigness of his continent. He has a childlike love for whatever is "the largest on earth," and "the greatest in the world." He possesses a great many of these things and loves to tell a waiting world of their wonders. The Englishman, however, does not take his youthful cousin as seriously as he takes himself, and seems to be more struck with the misgovernment of his city than by his forty-story skyscraper.

The fourth contrast also explains a cause of misunderstanding between the two peoples. The

Englishman dearly holds to his eternal prerogative of criticizing everything. He is critical of himself, of his party, most of all of his political opponents. He thinks the whole country is going to the dogs when the opposition is in power.

The fifth contrast brings out a strange difference between the two peoples. At first sight the Englishman is more reserved than the American, who is more open, talkative, and expansive. The Englishman is slow to speak, but if he speaks at all he is more direct and often brutally frank in his expression. The American is more open and friendly. He talks more, yet he is instinctively more tactful and diplomatic in expression. His reserved, yet frank brother, John Bull sometimes mistakes this for insincerity, but it is not so. As an illustration of this, an American woman while traveling in England was asked on three different occasions to stay with various families. She declined in each case, but she did it so tactfully that all three thought she had accepted and were surprised when she did not come. Any American would have understood his fellow-countrywoman. Both nationalities were misled by the supposition that they were speaking the same language. If they would understand one another let the Englishman try to be friendly, and let the American be less tactful and say what he thinks.

The sixth contrast brings out a difference which is a much more fruitful source of misunderstanding

between the two peoples. Boasting is considered bad form in England, and the boy is habitually taught in the home, in the public school, and throughout life, if he is of gentle birth, that it is vulgar. It is good form to be modest in one's appraisal of himself, of past accomplishments, or future expectations. The Englishman, if he is a gentleman, is self-depreciating in speech, but he is self-confident in action. He believes that he never has been, never is, and never can be beaten. Self-confident in action, he will plod along until he "muddles through" somehow. But having done a thing, he does not talk about it.

Now the American, like his English cousin, is equally self-confident in action. He, too, thinks he never has been, never is, and never can be beaten. But if he honestly believes this he frankly says so. He admits it! The Englishman's self-depreciation seems to him to be hypocritical and insincere; while the American's self-confidence in speech seems to the Englishman the most obnoxious and vulgar boasting. For to the Englishman, of all things, "swank," bragging and boasting, "talking big," and claiming the earth, are the most detested. They are, in England, the sure and certain mark of bad breeding. When, therefore, the Englishman hears his youthful and optimistic cousin, with his frank self-confidence in speech, he lays it to vulgar lack of breeding, not realizing that his own habit of speech has been formed under a conventional rule of etiquette which

does not necessarily obtain in other countries. The chief point is that we must not misunderstand each other or think that our way is the only way.

Instances of this tendency to boast occurred in the war zone. At B——, where there were a number of British patients from the hospital—crippled, wounded, and convalescent—out on the dock, an American Sammy, arriving three years late, possibly feeling a little uneasy that his nation had previously done so little in the War, and trying to make up for it by "tall talk," told these veteran patients how America was going to show them how to win the War. The patients were naturally so indignant that they fell upon the Yankee, gave him a good beating, and threw him off the end of the dock.

The next two contrasts in the table also illustrate a difference which leads to misunderstanding. The American imagines that he has a "corner" on democracy. He comes from a "glorious republic," where liberty, equality, and fraternity have been achieved. Surely all the world must know, as he has since his earliest school days, that America is "the land of the free and the home of the brave." Aristocratic England in his eyes has the sad misfortune to be governed by a king.

As a matter of fact, while America has achieved much in social democracy, she is still, despite her outward form of republican government, behind England in political democracy. The American who

boasts of his liberty is strangely submissive to tyranny. The Englishman, the Frenchman, even the German, would not for a moment put up with the corrupt political, graft-ridden, boss-driven rule of some of our American cities. The Englishman is much more insistent upon his personal rights; he will fight harder for good government than the American. There is far less "graft" in England than in the United States.

On the other hand, the British are behind in social democracy. They have a riper, older social culture, achieved by a leisured class with a fine ideal of a gentleman. England socially is living on her acquired capital, while the American, in his shirt-sleeves, is out making his fortune in a period of social construction. But if more callow and crude, he is socially more democratic, with less regard for class, and in principle and practice holds closer to the truth that "a man's a man for a' that."

They are alike in their love of liberty, their refusal to admit the possibility of defeat, both have a strong instinct for competition, the commercial vein, the passion for work, and moral earnestness. But both are prejudiced, and both nations have their faults and limitations. For the sake of our common traditions in the past, and our high calling in the future, can we not cultivate a larger and more generous appreciation of each other? In many things we must agree to differ and accept each other as we are.

Unfortunately we were not consulted as to our ancestry, and we did not altogether choose our virtues or shortcomings. We are so close together and so much alike that often we get upon each other's nerves. Let the Englishman who has any regard for Anglo-Saxon relations in the future try not to seem reserved, cold, proud, and patronizing, as he so often does to the stranger from America or the colonies. Let him be as frank and friendly as he can be. Let the American drop his statistics, his encyclopedic giving of unasked information, and above all, if he has it, his habit of boasting, which does so much to cheapen the real value of his nation and make it seem vulgar to foreigners.

Here then, are two nations which are providentially called into the closest relations with each other. There are no two peoples or powers whose mutual friendship will do so much for the welfare of the world. If America and the British Empire stand together they alone furnish a nucleus for world peace, for brotherhood, for a League of Nations. If they are divided what guarantee have we for these things?

Our interests for the most part are common. We both want an open door of trade in the Far East, the integrity of China, strengthened as a great and prosperous trading republic, not weakened and divided as spoil for warring nations. We both want to see Russia under a true democracy, a blessing to

herself and the world, not the helpless tool of exploitation either by any selfish class among her own people, whether high or low, or by any foreign power. We both wish to see the great principles for which we fought in the War—liberty, democracy, and righteousness—honestly and impartially applied in our own countries, our colonies and possessions, and in all other lands. We both desire to "get a really new world." United, at our best, and living up to our own ideals, we can almost guarantee these things. We can make possible a League of Nations and world peace. Divided we can almost insure war, sooner or later, into which we shall both be dragged. Let us together stand for the freedom of democracy, with an open door of trade, an open door of opportunity for all classes, an open diplomacy, an open Bible with liberty of conscience, and an open world —Everybody's World.

X

EVERYBODY'S WORLD

We stand at the close of the greatest human event in history, Everybody's War; we now face the great crisis of reconstruction, in the making of Everybody's World. If these millions have not died in vain, we must win for them and for all humanity a new world. As we review the whole situation today, is it too much to say that we face an utterly unprecedented world-crisis? In summing up, let us try to grasp the gravity of the situation in the six areas of human need that we have surveyed.

In the Near East we find *Egypt* swept by a nationalist uprising similar to that in India. The Nationalist Party demands complete independence. The political strikes of the government officials and the students in the schools have been followed by industrial strikes. Young Egypt has seized the catchwords of democracy and is clamoring for "self-determination," without realizing the conditions and responsibilities of self-government. After thirteen centuries of the rule of Islam, there has not yet dawned the first conception of granting full rights of citizenship to subject races of other faiths. Under self-government, within six months massacre would be rife. Egypt has not yet produced any national democratic leaders whose vision transcends the

division of class and creed. The educated classes have shown little concern for their own peasantry, and little toleration for their fellow-subjects of the Christian faith.

On the other hand, we must realize that in Egypt, as in other lands, this passion of nationalism springs from the same source as our own. The Anglo-Saxon is tempted to believe that he is destined for self-government, but that others are never fit for it. The Commission to Egypt under Lord Milner will doubtless appreciate the depth and sincerity of the nationalist spirit in Egypt, and make provision for her steady advance toward responsible government. Repression will only lead to reaction. Where this deep spirit of nationalism exists, we must provide for normal evolution or face revolution. Egypt must have her place in Everybody's World.

In *Turkey*, Constantinople will stand as the crucial city between Europe and Asia. All nations are met there. The time has come to make some settlement that will insure a just and generous government, with the widest toleration for majorities and minorities, for Muslim, Jew, and Christian, with full liberty of conscience and absolute suppression of the barbarous massacres which have emanated from this city for five centuries past. The problem of Turkey must finally be faced. For decades it has been evaded, postponed, compromised, and the wel-

fare of the whole Near East has been sacrificed to the jealous intrigues of Western nations. As we passed those graves and lonely cemeteries on the rocky ridge of Gallipoli, we could only raise a prayer that Turkey might at last be free from foreign intrigue without, and from the self-destruction which has menaced her from within. The whole Near East is volcanic with the possibilities of danger and of menace for the world, yet a new day of justice, of law and order, of religious toleration and development, is at hand, if only the Anglo-Saxon nations will do their plain duty here.

We are also faced with the plea of threatened *Armenia.* For a thousand years this people has been persecuted. Massacre has followed massacre during the whole of the last century. At no time have the Armenians been in greater danger than today. It lies between the Anglo-Saxon nations, and especially with America, to see that after criminal international neglect and evasion for a whole generation, this people should not be further sacrificed.

Russia, continental, colossal, chaotic, appeals to us out of the depth of its starving agony. As Armenia among the small nations, Russia has suffered most of all the great nations of the world. After a thousand years of oppression, five centuries of Czardom, and five years of War and its aftermath, can we blame this great people, generations behind the rest of Europe in progress, for blindly striving

for liberty? The French Revolution sought the overthrow of political oppression, while the Russian Revolution has tried to sweep away at one stroke both political and social injustice and to establish a new social order. Can we Anglo-Saxons, who in England fought for our Magna Charta of liberty, and in colonial America resisted the least featherweight of injustice in the Stamp Act, blame this mass of struggling humanity for trying to throw off their bitter yoke of bondage? Behind all the fog of misrepresentation and the smoke of battle, the Russian people, renouncing the injustice of Bolshevism, may work out for all humanity a social solution such as the French Revolution worked out in the political sphere.

Russia today needs not words but deeds, not empty sympathy but practical help. Religiously also she needs our cooperation, but we must go not to proselytize but to vitalize. Russia does not need more sects, churches, or organizations; she does not need imported denominationalism; she will reform her own Church. If we go to her aid with no selfish or ulterior motive, with no desire for foreign exploitation, but for the welfare of her own people, we shall find that no nation on earth will so eagerly and gratefully accept our help. If we cannot believe in Russia, we cannot believe in humanity. To be defeated there would be to be defeated everywhere. We are members one of another. The class hatred

of an unjust, triumphant Bolshevism would be a menace to the world, while a democratic Russia will help to make the world safe for democracy. Let us not for a moment forget that the future of the Anglo-Saxon nations is bound up with the welfare of Russia.

Japan also is facing a second great crisis in her history. She learned her first lesson and entered the geographic and economic world in 1854. But today, not Commodore Perry, but all nations are knocking at her door with the plea that, in the political, social, and spiritual sphere as well, she will enter into the true democracy of Everybody's World. An exploited Shantung means the menace of China and of every free nation represented there. A generous attitude toward China on the part of Japan will mean a wide open door of equal opportunity for all, in which Japan by virtue of her position will easily excel, where no Western nation can successfully compete with her or will envy her. Japan stands today at the cross-roads. We have faith that she will not take the wrong turning.

Let the Anglo-Saxon nations remember that we also are menaced from within by selfish materialism and by commercialism. Do we ourselves believe in our spiritual principles sincerely enough to practice them? If we now meet Japan on the basis of selfish materialism, what defense can we have if some day more than 600,000,000 of the yellow race meet us

mercilessly on the same ground? As we have said, the possible Yellow Peril of the future is today the golden opportunity of Christendom. The reason we are tempted to judge Japan so harshly is that there is so much of the same spirit in ourselves. Japan met us generously when she opened her doors in 1854. It is our firm faith that she will meet us in the same spirit today, if we ask her to join us in entering the democracy of Everybody's World.

China, with one fourth of the human race, must also have her part in the new world. As Lord Bryce says, "Her future is of immense significance to all mankind." China is facing at once the greatest political crisis and the largest religious opportunity of her history. We found that politically she is threatened with the collapse of her Government through bribery and corruption, because the non-Christian religions have not furnished any lasting moral foundation for national life. To whom may she turn? What other principle or gospel can offer her any equivalent for a Christian civilization? Two forces in the past have been contending for China: material exploitation and Christian philanthropy. We must choose which we will follow. Now is the time to make the China of the future. Whether the present Government stands or falls, the next two decades will be decisive in the raising up of a great national leadership founded upon Christian principles. We are not contending here or elsewhere for

a nominal Christianity. We plead for no sect, denomination, church, or organization, but where else can China find an enduring foundation for national life save in Christian principles, and who is to help her if we do not?

In *India* we must realize the depth and breadth of the new nationalism. Here is one-fifth of humanity in tragic need, long left illiterate and in dire poverty. Raised up out of this toiling mass of over 300,000,000, are 250,000 English-speaking educated men of the politically minded classes, united by a new national consciousness, bridging the gulfs of caste and creed, of race and language. We must not forget that this patriotism is of the same stuff as our own. It is forged in the fire of affliction. It voices an unfathomed depth. It would be sheer madness not to heed it. The Anglo-Saxon, who is democratic at home, is tempted to be imperialistic abroad. He who has fought for his own liberty must recognize this right for others. The choice in India, as in Egypt and Russia, is between evolution and revolution. India will be the chief glory of the British Empire or the monument of her failure. And here also America must make her full contribution. In unselfish philanthropic service the Englishman, as a representative of the governing nation, is at a great disadvantage. The democratic American can sympathize with the national aspirations of other peoples and render a disinterested service without suspicion. But

no foreigner should go to Asia who is not prepared to serve. We should go not to be leaders, but to make leaders. Such true "Servants of India" are needed in this period of transition.

Facing this vast and turbulent world, amid "the restless tossing of long-enthralled nationalities," stand the two great Anglo-Saxon allies of democracy and peace. We have seen that together we are responsible for about one-third of the land area of the globe and nearly one-third of its population; that we possess nearly one-half of its wealth and half of its trade. Selfishly held for the exploitation of British imperialism or American commercial supremacy, this must arouse the jealousy and opposition of the world. But if it is held as a sacred trust for democratic development, for responsible government and self-determination for all backward people and unprivileged classes, these two nations face their supreme opportunity. For good or ill, it is mainly these two peoples that have been working in the Near East, that have helped Russia, opened Japan, tried to maintain an open door in China, stood for the education and emancipation of India and been responsible for the great bulk of the Christian philanthropy of the world.

Yet at the very moment when the whole distracted world is calling with outstretched hands to us to come over and help them, we must face the clamant demands of the social problem at home. At

the moment of writing, the great struggle of labor is in progress. All the railways were on strike in England, with the other trade unions threatening to join them. A British labor leader, says: "The center of gravity is passing from the House of Commons to the headquarters of the Trade Unions." The triple alliance of workers in the railways, transportation, and mines threatened to hold up the Government and bring to a standstill the economic life of England. The strikes and the upheaval of the labor movement in the United States and Canada are symptoms of the same social malady. Fortunately the labor party in England, unlike the materialistic Marxian socialist parties in Germany and Russia, is based largely upon Christian principles.

In any one strike the labor leaders may make a tactical blunder, or may be unjust. They may strike at the wrong time, in the wrong way, on a wrong issue. Worst of all, there may be dark and sinister foreign elements seeking to exploit and drive to unjustifiable extremes what might have been a reasonable issue. But let us not be blind to one fundamental question which underlies this whole industrial and social movement. If, as we saw in the first chapter, two per cent of the people of America possess sixty per cent of its wealth, while sixty-five per cent of the unprivileged classes have only five per cent of the wealth; if in Great Britain, a quarter of the entire population is living in poverty, can we

say that our present industrial order is founded upon social justice? Is it not in the trend of things that we shall see throughout the Anglo-Saxon nations a widening social control? Are we to face this social problem and seek to find a solution based on Christian principles, or are we to leave Bolshevism to find one?

Have we ever cared, or dared, to stop and think of our present life and business in the light of the teaching of Jesus? Is it possible that we, like men in other days, are blinded by our own prejudice and self-interest so that we do not see the truth with single eye? For centuries, men read complacently the doctrine of "justification by faith" and felt sure it meant just the opposite of what it said. For centuries they justified from the Bible slavery, the Inquisition, the burning of witches, race prejudice, class exploitation, and every unjust social practice. Is it possible that we, too, are blinded today?

During the strike of the railway workers in England, the writer tried to read afresh with open eyes the Sermon on the Mount, to see if it contained any indication of a solution for our social and political problems in the present world crisis. And this is what he found:

A New Social Order

1. *Fatherhood.* God is the loving Father of us all, and we are to pattern our lives according to His plan (Matt. 5:45, 48)

2. *Personality.* Each man as potentially a son of God, is of infinite worth, and of concern to us. If any man or class has a grievance against us, we are to seek, if possible, immediate reconciliation (5:22, 23).

3. *Brotherhood.* All men are meant to be brothers, bound together in one great family of love in the purpose of God. We are to love and care for all, even our enemies (5:45).

4. *Responsibility.* We are responsible for others, as our brother's keeper, as the salt or savor of society, as the light of a new social order, like a city on a hill, an example to the world (5:13–16, 23–26).

5. *The Object of Life.* The *summum bonum*, the end of life, our one aim and object is, socially, to seek the Kingdom of God, the moral organization of mankind, in a social order of humility, righteousness, mercy, purity, and self-sacrifice: and, personally, to do to each and all as we would be done by—i. e. to put ourselves in the other's place (6:33; 7:12; 5:3–11).

6. *Wealth.* Selfish hoarding of material wealth is forbidden to the sons of the Kingdom. They are to seek with singleness of eye to be servants of God and brothers of men, not slaves of money (6:19–24).

7. *Service.* We must each consecrate his life for the realization of the Kingdom, to work and pray for its coming, and thus build on the rock of eternal reality and not on the shifting sand of personal selfishness. (6:9, 10; 7:21–27).

If we review these seven principles, do we believe that they are just? Are they the teaching of Jesus? If we are to translate these principles into the concrete of actual life, would the following be a fair application of them?

The Application of These Principles to The Present Social Order

1. Before God as our common Father, our whole industrial, social, and political system must be tested by its fruits. Wherever it has failed, it must be rebuilt on the rock of justice and truth in a social order, of, for, and by the people, with democratic equality of opportunity for the full development and happiness of all.

2. If, although each man is of infinite worth, labor has been exploited and has not had its due proportion of the wealth it has helped to create, then a fair living wage for all who toil should be the first charge on industry.

3. If, in the light of human brotherhood, our present social system is unjust as tested by its fruits, then all who toil, whether by hand or brain should be adequately represented in the control and in the sharing of the profits of highly organized industry.

4. If we are our brother's keeper, all men, classes, and sections of the community are entitled to social justice. But all should aim at evolution rather than

revolution, at fulfilment rather than destruction. Each case should, if possible, be settled by conciliation on the basis of social justice, not on the basis of selfishness backed by force or violence on either side.

5. God's Kingdom or rule is the unseen reality. Our present system is not yet true or real as tested by its fruits. In this period of reconstruction, are we ready to seek first God's Kingdom in our business, and to do unto others who toil, what we would that men should do to us?

6. If it is true that capital is only the surplus energy of society, which should be released for the welfare of all, we must beware of selfish hoarding or of the robbery of our brother's rights. We must strive by the consecration of wealth, of time, and of service to lay up treasure, that is, the surplus energy of human toil, for its sole true end, the production of lasting character and happiness for all.

7. The Kingdom can come only by the obedience of each individual, class, and nation, yielding its selfish privileges to socialize all life. This is to build upon the rock of eternal reality, and not on the sand of selfishness.

Do you believe that the above represent at least a partial application of the principles of Jesus to modern life? If not, what did He mean? Are you willing to apply His teaching to your own life and business, or are you of those who merely say "Lord, Lord," and do not the things which He says? Are

you willing to do your part in the social reconstruction of Everybody's World?

Is it not evident that we are in the midst of a vast interrelated world movement? What civilized nation is not affected? Twenty-three local wars have already grown out of the World War. More than a score of monarchs have already lost their thrones. Every nation seems to be in the midst of strife—either military, political, social, or economic. The world is in the agony of the birth pangs of a new order, struggling to be born. We had thought to confine the war at first to Serbia and Austria, then to Germany, then to Europe, then to the political sphere; but it is as wide as the whole life of the world. Behind it is the driving force of the newly awakened democratic conscience of mankind, incoherently demanding a better world.

Only the superficial view of the present world situation is pessimistic. Perhaps the backward swing of the pendulum of social war may carry the hour hand along the dial plate of progress as fast as the forward swing of peace. A new world order will be worth all it costs. Better war than an unrighteous peace under Germany, we said. And better war again than the continuance of a social order fundamentally unjust. "All humanity has struck its tents and is on the march." We are in the midst of a vast adjustment, or transition, in the ordered life of mankind—political, social, and economic—from

autocracy to democracy, from militarism to true freedom, from the material power of might to the moral power of right. "And *we* live in it." Many have been vociferous in condemning certain individuals in the War and at Paris. But now it is our turn. Is America going to sit as the international Dives, with the beggared world knocking with gaunt and bony hands at our gates of brass? We have said that others have failed us, but is America now going to fail the world? We have shown a lively interest in Shantung, as an academic matter of debate, but in actual practice what are we going to do for China, for Armenia, for the world? Is our aim merely to get the world's trade or to give the world peace?

In summing up, let us try to focus in one mental picture the six great areas of human need that we have surveyed. There is the crisis of the Near East and the chaos of a vast, elemental upheaval in Russia. In Japan and the Far East we face the problem of the Pacific, in the issue between militarism and democracy. China is facing the great political crisis of her history, and is threatened with the collapse of her Government. India with her 300,000,000 is surging with a new nationalism, and with united front is demanding representative government. The Anglo-Saxon nations have to face not only this unprecedented situation abroad, but at home the great crisis in the labor situation, and

the whole issue of social and economic reconstruction. Where are we to find the solution for these overwhelming problems? Is there any hope of bringing out of this chaos the ordered beauty of Everybody's World?

The whole world is undergoing a cataclysmic change. The old world is in the melting pot, the new will run into moulds of our making. Are we to view this vast revolution that is taking place before our eyes with the blind prejudice of men partisan and selfish, who can conceive of no new idea, or are we to build a new world according to the pattern that we have seen in the Mount? Emerson says:

"What is the scholar, what is the man *for*, but for hospitality to every new thought of his time? Have you leisure, power, property, friends? You shall be the asylum and patron of every new thought, every unproven opinion, every untried project, which proceeds out of good will and honest seeking. All the newspapers, all the tongues of today will of course defame what is noble; but you who hold not of today, not of the times, but of the Everlasting, are to stand for it; and the highest compliment man ever receives from heaven is the sending to him its disguised and discredited angels."

Here then is the challenge of our time. Shall we choose revolution or evolution, selfishness or service, the material or the spiritual, Mammon or God? Are we to seek the biological kingdom of the German Haeckel, with the brute struggle for the survival of

the fittest; or to build the Kingdom of God, in the moral organization of mankind? Is it to be the conflict of selfishness and the chaos of hell, or the construction of Everybody's World?

Reader, where do you stand? What part will you play in the building of the new world? As the writer returns from a journey through these great areas of human need and conflict, it seems to him that men of all nations, East or West, at home or abroad, are unconsciously grouped in four great parties. To which of these do you and I belong?

1. *The Reactionaries.* These embrace all members of the selfish, privileged classes of birth and breeding, of wealth, education, commercial advantage, or political power, who are unwilling to share their privileges with others. There are many in respectable circles unconsciously belonging to this reactionary party. It includes not only the Czarists of Russia, the militarists of Japan, the commercial profiteers of America, many imperialists in England and France, but also the Turks who are working to exterminate the Armenians. It includes some men high in the parliaments and cabinets of the state, and in the orders of the Church. These men have no belief in humanity, no faith in any nationalism save their own, no sympathy with the toiling masses in their struggle for liberty.

2. *The Revolutionaries.* In all these lands these include not only the Bolsheviki in Russia, but men

in Europe, Asia, and America who would sweep away with violence the present system and in its place institute the selfish rule of the unprivileged classes.

3. *The Neutrals*, the compromisers, the drifters, the slackers. This party includes not only the unthinking mass, but some students in our colleges, some men of culture who have the capacity for thought but do not exercise it; men who in the midst of this world crisis have no vision, no conviction, no program, no passion, no life-purpose. They include the colorless, drab, dead souls.

These three classes include the majority in all countries, but none of them belong to Everybody's World.

4. *The Party of Social Redemption.* These men have a purpose and a program. They have a grip on life. They are practical idealists, they have a working creed. They believe that at the center of the universe is a purpose of divine love, for peace on earth and good will among men. They believe that humanity is one, sacred and divine, in which each individual, each class, each backward nation is of infinite worth, with limitless possibilities of development. They believe in the application to daily life and politics of the eternal moral law of righteousness. They hold to the spiritual principle of service and sacrifice—one God, one humanity, one moral law, one fellowship in service. These men are the

citizens of the new world, the builders of the Eternal City.

These four classes, the privileged reactionaries, the unprivileged revolutionaries, the neutral drifters, and the party of social redemption, make up our world today. To which of these do *you* belong? What have *you* done for the betterment of mankind and the building of the new world? There is no conscription here, no enforced or slave-driven service, but there is a universal call for volunteers. The men of the last party hold the future. The stars in their courses fight for them. All the ultimate power of the universe is with them. Behind them are the Cross of Calvary, all the glorious dead of the great War, all the vast offering of human sacrifice since time began. As we survey the dark past, the threatening present, and the possible future, we are driven back to the Christian answer as the only solution of life. Where else shall we go? To materialism, to Prussian militarism, to naturalism, and the brute struggle for existence? Can men turn with any hope to revolution, to Bolshevism, to Nihilism, which end in chaos? Have the nations found any ultimate solution, any adequate basis for national life, any hope of the rearing of Everybody's World in Confucianism, Shintoism, Buddhism, Hinduism, or Islam? We are driven back to the one center of life, the eternal God manifest in the Christ of Calvary. We must Christianize the whole of life, we must claim the

whole man in all his relationships. We must seek the ordered development of the spiritual, the moral, the intellectual, the social, the political, and the material life of man—coordinated, unified, and redeemed.

Will you, Reader, dedicate your life to this new world, with a deeper faith in the common man, a fight for social justice at home and abroad, a new belief in the democracy of nations and the right of the unprivileged classes, and a new internationalism —all made possible by a life of service and sacrifice? Will you dedicate your life to the service of Everybody's World?

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I

CASUALTIES AND COSTS OF THE WAR

From the President's Official Statement

I. The Battle Dead

Russia	1,700,000
France	1,385,000
Italy	462,000
Great Britain	900,000
Serbia	125,000
Belgium	102,000
Rumania	100,000
Greece	7,000
The United States	50,300
The Teutonic Nations:	
Germany	1,600,000
Austro-Hungary	800,000
Turkey	250,000
Bulgaria	100,000
Total Battle Dead	7,582,000

The total battle deaths in all the wars of the world from 1793 to 1914 were something like 6,000,000. Add, however, to this total the number of deaths from supplementary causes and the aggregate will exceed 10,000,000 men, both in these previous wars, and in the last war.

The cost of the War to the United States in man power is now estimated officially as 116,492 dead and 205,590 wounded, a total of 322,082.

II. THE COSTS OF THE WAR (NOT INCLUDING RUINED PROPERTY, ETC.)

Great Britain and her dominions	$38,000,000,000
France	26,000,000,000
Russia	18,000,000,000
Italy	13,000,000,000
Belgium, Japan, and the smaller nations	16,000,000,000
The United States	22,000,000,000
The Central Powers:	
Germany	$39,000,000,000
Austro-Hungary	21,000,000,000
Turkey and Bulgaria	3,000,000,000
Total Costs of the War	$329,000,000,000

APPENDIX II

THE STUDENTS OF RUSSIA

Education in Russia has been backward. Out of every 1,000, only 211 or 21 per cent. can read or write. The Revolution of 1905 introduced a new era of reform in education and by January, 1912, there were 125,723 institutions with 8,263,999 pupils or slightly more than the total number of students in Japan or India. These were divided as follows:

In universities and higher education	68,671
In secondary schools	467,558
In elementary schools	6,697,385

The students of Russia are not scattered through six hundred colleges as in the United States, but are gathered in nine great university centers. Their intellectual standards are exceedingly high, resembling those of the

German universities. The number of students in these universities, at the beginning of the war, was: Moscow 9,940, Petrograd 8,446, Kief 4,008, Kharkoff 5,347, Yurieff (Dorpat) 2,747, Warsaw 1,556, Kazan 3,484, Odessa 3,193.

There is an absence of discipline and restraint among the Russian universities. The students are for the most part hard-working and often bitterly poor. We found some struggling to live on two dollars a month, who were on the verge of starvation; others who had not the price of a hair-cut or a postage stamp to write home.

APPENDIX III

THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

Russia forms one of the sixteen independent churches of the Orthodox Eastern Church. Converted to Christianity in 988, she adopted the Byzantine or Greek form. Russia accepts the decrees of the seven Ecumenical Councils of the undivided Catholic Church. From the ninth to the eleventh century the schism arose which divided the Eastern and Western Churches, and the Russian Church was arrested in its development and long remained stationary. It has a simple definition of dogma, and there is no living authority to which it is obliged to submit. It has a married priesthood, and the open Bible was never officially forbidden to the people. It is a kind of half-way house between the Catholic and Protestant Churches. It has been passing through a period of reformation during the War.

The Russian is not only deeply reverent and mystical,

but he looks rather to conduct than to creed. There has occasionally been a political desire for "Russification," but the idea of proselytism is foreign to the Russian mind. If we are to help Russia today we need not to proselytize but to vitalize, not to found new competing sects and denominations, for they already have countless sects—Greek, Roman, and Protestant—but to bring them life more abundantly, that shall permeate all churches and all departments of national life, religious, civic, and social.

APPENDIX IV

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

THE DECLARATION OF AUGUST 20, 1919.

The following is the text of the pronouncement made in the House of Commons on August 20, 1919, by the Rt. Hon. Mr. E. S. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India on behalf of His Majesty's Government:—

"The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to *the progressive realization of responsible government in India*, as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance, as a preliminary to considering what these should be, that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at Home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided, with His Majesty's approval, that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India

to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Government of India, to consider with the Viceroy the views of the Local Governments, and to receive the suggestions of representative bodies and others. I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the cooperation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility. Ample opportunity will be afforded for the public discussion of the proposals, which will be submitted in due course to Parliament."

According to the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme each Provincial Legislature will have an elected majority of Indians chosen by direct election on a broad franchise of some five million voters, including the literate classes, property owners, etc. Backward minorities, like the Muhammadans and Sikhs, will elect their own special representatives to safeguard their interests.

Government recommends that one third of the superior posts of the Indian Civil Service will in future be recruited in India itself, and not in England as heretofore. British commissions have now for the first time been granted to Indian officers in the army.

APPENDIX V

SOUTH INDIA CONFERENCE ON CHURCH UNION

TRANQUEBAR, MAY 1 and 2, 1919

"We as individual members of the Anglican Communion and the South India United Church, having met at Tranquebar in the first ministers' conference on Church Union, after prayer and thought and discussion, have agreed on the following statement concerning the union of the Anglican Church with the South India United Church.

"We believe that union is the will of God, even as our Lord prayed that we might be all one that the world might believe. We believe that union is the teaching of scripture, that 'There is one body, and one Spirit, even as also ye were called in one Hope of your calling; one Lord, one Faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all and in all.'

"We believe that the challenge of the present hour in the period of reconstruction after the war, in the gathering together of the nations, and the present critical situation in India itself, call us to mourn our past divisions and turn to our Lord Jesus Christ to seek in Him the unity of the body expressed in one visible Church. We face together the titanic task of the winning of India for Christ, one-fifth of the human race. Yet confronted by such an overwhelming responsibility we find ourselves rendered weak and relatively impotent by our unhappy divisions—divisions for which we were not responsible

and which have been, as it were, imposed upon us from without; divisions which we did not create, and which we do not desire to perpetuate.

"In this Church we believe that three scriptural elements must be conserved: (1) The *Congregational* element, representing the 'whole Church' with 'every member' having immediate access to God, each exercising his gift for the development of the whole body. (2) We believe it should include the delegated, organized or *Presbyterian* element, whereby the Church could unite in a General Assembly, synods, or councils in organized unity. (3) We believe it should include the representative, executive and *Episcopal* element. Thus all the three elements, no one of which is absolute or sufficient without the others should be included in the Church of the future, for we aim not at compromise for the sake of peace but at comprehension for the sake of truth.

"In seeking union, the Anglican members stand for the one ultimate principle of the *historic Episcopate.* They ask the 'acceptance of the fact of episcopacy and not any theory as to its character.' The South India United Church members believe it is 'a necessary condition that the episcopate should reassume a constitutional form' on the primitive, simple, apostolic model. While the Anglicans ask for the historic Episcopate, the members of the South India United Church also make one condition of union, namely, the recognition of spiritual equality, of the universal priesthood of all believers, and the rights of the laity to their full expression in the Church. They ask that this principle of spiritual equality shall be maintained throughout at every step of the negotiations.

"Upon this common ground of the historic Episcopate and of spiritual equality of all members of the two Churches we propose union on the following basis:—

(1) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as containing all things necessary to salvation.

(2) The Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed.

(3) The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

(4) The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted.

"We understand that the acceptance of the fact of the Episcopate does not involve the acceptance of any theory of the origin of episcopacy nor any doctrinal interpretation of the fact. It is further agreed that the terms of union should involve no Christian community in the necessity of disowning its past, and we find it no part of our duty to call in question the validity of each other's orders.

"Fully recognizing that we do not commit our respective bodies to any action, we individually and unofficially agree upon the following plan of union: After full deliberation let the South India United Church, if it desires union, choose from its own members certain men who shall be consecrated as Bishops. In the consecration of these Bishops it is suggested that three or more Bishops of the Anglican Church shall lay their hands upon the candidates, together with an equal number of ministers as representatives of the South India United Church.

"As soon as the first Bishops are consecrated, the two bodies would be in intercommunion, but the further limitation of existing ministers with regard to celebrating the communion in the Churches of the other body might still remain. In accordance with the principle of spiritual

equality we desire to find some means to permit ministers of either body to celebrate the communion in the Churches of the other body.*

"While not committing our respective bodies, we, unofficially and individually, with the blessing of God, agree to work toward union on such a basis."

*"As one possible solution, we would suggest that a special 'Service of Commission' should be held. All ministers of both bodies desiring authority to officiate at the communion throughout the whole Church should present themselves to receive at the hand of all the Bishops of the United Churches a commission for such celebration of the communion. Ministers of either body desiring to officiate at the communion in other churches would be under no obligation to present themselves, as full liberty would be claimed for individuals on the extreme wing of each body to maintain their present views and practices."

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